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Late Vicar of Broad Hembury, Devon.

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HISTORIC

HISTORIC PROOF

OF THE

DOCTRINAL CALVINISM

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

'TIS not a little amuſing, to ſee ſuch rank Arminians, as Heylyn, preſſing themſelves, whether they will or no, into the ſervice of truth. Take, therefore, a farther taſte of his teſtimony, occurring in another work of his. He obſerves, that "Cranmer, Ridley," and "the reſt of the Engliſh biſhops" concerned in the reformation, reſolved that "they would give Calvin no offence (*y*)." The Arminian found himſelf conſtrained even to add, that Calvin, "In his letters to the king and council, had excited them to proceed in the good work which they had begun: that is, that they ſhould ſo proceed as he [i. e. as Calvin] had directed. With Cranmer he is more particular, and tells him, in plain terms, that, in the liturgy of this church [viz. the firſt liturgy], as it then ſtood, there remained a whole maſs of Popery, which did not only blemiſh, but deſtroy, God's public worſhip (*z*)." It appeared, by the ſubſequent reviſal and reformation of that liturgy, that king Edward, his council, and arch-

(*y*) Heylyn's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, p. 204.
(*z*) Hiſt. Preſb. p. 206.

biſhop Cranmer (or, as Heylyn himſelf there, for a wonder, vouchſafes to expreſs it, "the godly king, aſſiſted by ſo wiſe a council, and ſuch learned prelates"] were entirely of Calvin's mind. Doubtleſs, thoſe good and great men reformed the firſt liturgy, more from a conviction of the force of Calvin's arguments, than from a principle of mere deference to Calvin's authority. Mr. Heylyn, however, inclines to the latter ſuppoſition: and by a conceſſion which places Calvin's authority with the reformers in the moſt exalted point of view, expreſsly declares, that "the firſt liturgy was diſcontinued, and the ſecond ſuperinduced upon it after this review, to give ſatisfaction unto Calvin's cavils; the curioſities of ſome, and the miſtakes of others, of his friends and followers (*a*)."

In ſuch eſteem was Calvin held at the Engliſh court, that Bucer (though invited hither by the king himſelf, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury) would not, on his arrival here, wait on the lord protector, till he had obtained, from Calvin, letters of introduction and recommendation to that perſonage. "Of this," ſays Heylyn, viz. of the ſtate of religion in England, "he (i. e. Bucer,) gives account to Calvin; and deſires ſome letters from him to the lord protector, that he might find the greater favour, when he came before him: which was not till the tumults of the time were compoſed and quieted (*b*)."

What, moreover, ſhall we ſay, if it appear, that Calvin's intereſt was ſo conſiderable, as to be a means of extricating Dr. Hooper from the Fleet-priſon, to which he had been committed on account of his aforementioned objections to the epiſcopal habit? Let us, once more, attend to Heylyn. "In which condition of affairs, Calvin addreſſeth his letters to the lord protector, whom he deſireth

(*a*) Ibid. p. 207. (*b*) Heylyn's Hiſt. Ref. p. 79.

to

to lend the man (viz. Hooper) an helping hand, and extricate him out of thoſe perplexities into which he was caſt. So that, at laſt, the differences," adds Heylyn, "were thus compromiſed, that is to ſay, that Hooper ſhould receive his conſecration, &c. (*c*)."

Add to this, that, according to the ſaid Heylyn, the order for removing altars, and placing communion tables in their room, was chiefly owing to the influence of Calvin. "The great buſineſs of this year (1550), was the taking down of altars in many places, by public authority: which, in ſome few, had formerly been pulled down by the irregular forwardneſs of the common people. The principal motive whereunto was, in the firſt place, the opinion of ſome diſlikes which had been taken by Calvin againſt the (firſt) liturgy (*d*)."

A correſpondence was alſo carried on, between Calvin and archbiſhop Cranmer. Nay, ſo high did Calvin ſtand in the regards of king Edward himſelf, and ſo thoroughly ſatisfied was Cranmer, of Calvin's abilities and integrity, that "Cranmer admoniſhed Calvin, that he could not do any thing more profitable, than to write often to the king (*e*)."

Nor was Calvin unworthy of the diſtinguiſhed honours that were every where ſhewn him, by the learned and moderate of all denominations. "He was," ſays Dr. Edwards, "reputed a great man, not only at Geneva, but in England, And, accordingly, he had a great ſtroke here, and his judgment was much valued by our Church: as is evident from this, that, when ſome things in the firſt Engliſh liturgy were diſliked by him, there was preſently an alteration made in it, and another edition of it was put out, with amendments (*f*).——That accom-

(*c*) Heylyn, Ibid. p. 91.

(*d*) Heylyn, Ibid. p. 95.—See alſo his Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, p. 206.

(*e*) Hickman, ubi prius, p. 149. (*f*) Veritas Redux, p. 529.

pliſhed prelate, biſhop Andrews, ſaid, that Calvin was an illuſtrious perſon, and never to be mentioned without a preface of the higheſt honour. (Determ. Theol. de Uſur.)—Biſhop Bilſon tells us (Dial. p. 509), that Mr. Calvin was ſo well known, to thoſe that are learned and wiſe, for his great pains and good labours in the church of God, that a few ſnarling friars could not impeach his good name.—Mr. Hooker gives him this ſhort but full character; he was incomparably the wiſeſt man that ever the French church enjoyed: and in the ſame place (Pref. to Eccleſ. Polity) he ſtyles him, a worthy veſſel of God's glory.——Biſhop Morton ſpeaks as honourably of him.——For underſtanding the Scripture, he was endued with an admirable gift of judgment, ſaith Mr. Lively, the famous Hebrew profeſſor.—And the generality of our churchmen, in thoſe times, were ready to beſtow on him that brief encomium our biſhop Stillingfleet gives him, viz. that excellent ſervant of God (*g*)." Now, as Dr. Edwards farther obſerves, "It is certain, that our churchmen did not admire and eſteem Calvin and Beza, and their followers, for their eccleſiaſtical government, and ſome other things which were peculiar to their churches; therefore it muſt be their doctrines, which they had a reſpect for (*h*)."

It would be almoſt endleſs to refer to the juſt praiſes with which Calvin's memory has been honoured. "Joſeph Scaliger, who ſcarce thought any man worth his commending, could not forbear admiring Calvin: whom he owned for the happieſt of all the commentators, in apprehending the ſenſe of the prophets.—And Paſquier ſays, Calvin was a good writer, both in Latin and French; and our French tongue is highly obliged to him, for enriching it with ſo great a number of fine expreſſions (*i*)."

(*g*) Verit. Red. p. 550. (*h*) Ibid. p. 551.
(*i*) Rolt's Lives. p. 145.

—The

—The character given of him, by the immortal Monſieur de Thou, is, Johannes Calvinus, "*acri vir ac vehementi ingenio, & admirabli facundiâ præditas; inter Proteſtantes magni nominis theologus:* a perſon endued with a quick and lively genius, and of admirable eloquence; a divine highly accounted of among Proteſtants (*k*)."

"Biſhop Hooper ſo much valued Calvin, that he wrote to him, even when he [Hooper] was impriſoned; ſaluting him with the compellation of *vir præſtantiſſime*, earneſtly begging his church's prayers, and at laſt ſubſcribing himſelf, *Tuæ pietatis ſtudioſiſſimus*, Johannes Hooperus (*l*)."

"Whenever he was quoted, in the preſs, or in the pulpit, it was done with epithets of honour; as, the learned, the judicious, the pious Calvin. And I am more than confident, there cannot be produced one writer of credit, in the eſtabliſhed Church of England, that ever fell foul on Calvin, 'till about 60 or 70 years after his death, when the tares of Arminius began to be ſown and cheriſhed among us. —Dr. Featly ſtiles him, that bright, burning taper of Geneva, as warm in his devotions, as clear and lightſome in his diſputes (Ep. Ded. to Dippers Dipt). How reſpectfully do Jewel, Abbot, Uſher, &c. mention him (*m*)?"

Calvin has been taxed with fierceneſs and bigotry. But his meekneſs and benevolence were as eminent, as the malice of his traducers is ſhameleſs. I ſhall give one ſingle inſtance of his modeſty and gentleneſs. While he was a very young man, diſputes ran high between Luther and ſome other reformers, concerning the manner of Chriſt's preſence in the holy ſacrament. Luther, whoſe temper was naturally warm and rough, heaped many hard names

(*k*) See Leigh's Relig. and Learned Men, p. 149.
(*l*) Hickman, u. pr. p. 149.
(*m*) Hiſt. of Popery, vol. ii. p. 349, 350.

on the divines who differed from him on the article of conſubſtantiation; and, among the reſt, Calvin came in for his dividend of abuſe. Being informed of the harſh appellations he received, he meekly replied, in a letter to Bullinger, "*Sæpe dicere ſolitus ſum, etiamſi me diabolum vocaret, me tamen hoc illi honoris habiturum, ut inſignem Dei ſervum agnoſcam; qui tamen, ut pollet eximiis virtutibus, ità magnis vitiis laboret*: i. e. 'Tis a frequent ſaying with me, that, if Luther ſhould even call me a devil, my veneration for him is, notwithſtanding, ſo great, that I ſhall ever acknowledge him to be an illuſtrious ſervant of God; who tho' he abounds in extraordinary virtues, is yet not without conſiderable imperfections (*n*)."

The ſame learned hiſtorian, who relates this, has an obſervation, concerning Calvin, which deſerves attention. "John Calvin," ſays he, "was a man, whoſe memory will be bleſſed in every ſucceeding age. He inſtructed and enlightened, not only the church of Geneva, but alſo the whole reformed world, by his immenſe labours. Inſomuch that all the reformed churches are, in the groſs, frequently called by his name (*o*)." Thus wrote this candid Arminian, ſo lately as the year 1734.

I might here add ſome account of the conſummate veneration, in which the name and doctrines of Calvin were held, by our biſhops and Univerſities, before the clergy of our eſtabliſhment were debauched into Arminianiſm by Laud. But this ſhall, if Providence permit, be the ſubject of ſome ſucceeding Section.

In the mean while, I ſhould be equally unjuſt to the Church of England, and to the moderation of

(*n*) Turretini (Joh. Alph.) Hiſtor. Eccleſ. p. 352.

(*o*) "Vir benedictæ in omne ævum memoriæ, Johannes Calvinus; ——immenſiſque laboribus, non Genevenſem modò eccleſiam, ſed & totum reformatum orbem, erudiit atque illuſtravit: adeò ut, de ejus nomine reformati, quanti quanti ſunt, non rarò appellentur." Joh. Turretin. u. ſ. p. 253.

Calvin,

Calvin, if I did not annex a paſſage or two, from Mr. Strype, relative to the remarkable candour with which Calvin expreſſed himſelf, concerning the ceremonies and diſcipline of our religious eſtabliſhment.

" The mention of Calvin," ſays this excellent hiſtorian, " muſt bring in a very remarkable letter, which he wrote in the month of Auguſt this year [1561], concerning certain eccleſiaſtical rites, uſed in our office of private prayer [an evident miſtake for common-prayer] newly [re-] eſtabliſhed [on the acceſſion of queen Elizabeth]: which were ſcrupled by ſome of the Engliſh exiles, upon their return; chiefly, becauſe not uſed by the reformed church in Geneva: concerning which, they had ſent to Calvin, for his reſolution and judgment. Wherein he gave his opinion generally in favour and approbation of them (*p*);" i. e. in favour of the " eccleſiaſtical rites": which the hiſtorian particularizes in ſeveral inſtances. And then adds:

" To this judgment of this great divine, concerning rites uſed in this church, I will briefly ſubjoin his approbation of the epiſcopal government of the church: which is alledged out of his inſtitutions, by Dr. Whitgift.

" That every province [ſaith Calvin] had among their biſhops, an archbiſhop; and that the council of Nice did appoint patriarchs, who ſhould be, in order and dignity, above archbiſhops; was for the preſervation of diſcipline. Therefore for this cauſe eſpecially were thoſe degrees appointed, that if any thing ſhould happen, in any particular Church, which could not be decided, it might be removed to a provincial ſynod.——This kind of government ſome called Hierarchia: an improper name. But if, omitting the name, we conſider the thing itſelf, we ſhall find, that theſe old biſhops did not frame

(*p*) Strype's Hiſt. Ref. under Qu. Eliz. chap. xxi. p. 246.

any other kind of government in the church, from that which the Lord hath preſcribed in his word." And ſo much concerning Calvin's ſenſe of our Church's liturgy and government (*q*)."

Nor did Calvin's learned colleague and ſucceſſor, the illuſtrious Beza, entertain a leſs reſpectful idea of our national eſtabliſhment. Towards the decline of queen Elizabeth's reign, when puritanic oppoſition ran high againſt the outworks of the Church, the oppoſers affected to give out, that their objections were authorized, and their meaſures countenanced, by the moſt learned foreign Proteſtants: and, eſpecially, by Beza. This being ſoon known at Geneva, that great man thought it his duty to exculpate himſelf from a charge ſo ungenerous and unjuſt: which he took care to do, in a letter to Whitgift, then archbiſhop of Canterbury. "While the archbiſhop," ſays Strype, "was endeavouring to ſuppreſs the male-contents againſt epiſcopacy and the church of England in its preſent eſtabliſhment, he receiveth, March 8th [1591], a letter from Theodore Beza, the chief miniſter of Geneva, wherein he, by owning, with all reſpect, the archbiſhop, and the reſt of the Engliſh biſhops and their government of this Church, gave a notable check to theſe new reformers, who bore out themſelves much with his authority. It ſeemed to have been written by him, in anſwer to one from the archbiſhop, blaming him for his (ſuppoſed) meddling with the Church and ſtate of England, without any lawful commiſſion. In defence of himſelf, he (Beza) returned an anſwer; part whereof was as followeth: That whereas his lordſhip thought it meet, in his letters, to move them (i. e. to move the Geneva divines) to think well of this kingdom, and of the Church here, and the government thereof: it indeed troubled both him and Sadeel (another of the miniſters

(*q*) Strype, Ibid. p. 247, 248.

of

of Geneva), in ſome ſort: as being greatly afraid, leſt ſome ſiniſter rumours were brought to him (to the archbiſhop) concerning them; or leſt what they had written, concerning Church-government, properly againſt the antichriſtian tyranny [of the Roman church], as neceſſity required, might be taken, by ſome, in that ſenſe, as tho' they ever meant to compel to their order thoſe churches that thought otherwiſe.—That ſuch arrogancy was far from them: for [added Beza] who gave us authority over any church? And that they by no means thought, ſo ſubſtantial matters were kept, that there ought nothing to be granted to antiquity, nothing to cuſtom, nothing to the circumſtances of places, times, and perſons." So wrote Beza: or, to uſe Mr. Strype's own words on the occaſion, "Thus did Beza and Sadeel, in the name of their church, profeſs to the archbiſhop their reſpect, honour, and approbation of the Church of England (*r*)."

About two years afterwards, Dr. Bancroft (who at length became archbiſhop of Canterbury), in a treatiſe, which he publiſhed againſt the obſtinacy of ſome reſtleſs Puritans, "produced divers letters of Zanchius, in approbation of epiſcopacy; and of Bullinger and Gualter, to ſeveral Engliſh biſhops, in diſallowance altogether of thoſe innovators (*s*)."

As

(*r*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 378, 379.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 404.—In another work of Mr. Strype, that uſeful and laborious collector gives a large account of Zanchius's attachment to church-government by archbiſhops and biſhops. "We do not diſallow the fathers," ſaid Zanchy, "in that, after a divers way of diſpenſing the word, and governing the church, they multiplied divers orders of miniſters. It was lawful ſo to do: ſeeing they did it for honeſt cauſes, appertaining, at that time, to the order, decency, and edification of the church.—For this reaſon, viz. that the nurſeries of diſſentions and ſchiſms might be taken away, we think that thoſe things which were ordained before the council of Nice, concerning archbiſhops, nay, as touching the four patriarchs, may be excuſed and defended." Some others, of the reaſons, aſſigned by Zanchy, for his approbation of the hierarchy, were, 1. The practice of the primitive church, preſently after the apoſtles

As to Beza, if he was afterwards ſo far wrought upon, by dint of miſrepreſentation, as to countenance, in any meaſure, the forwardneſs of the more rigid diſciplinarians; it ought, in juſtice, to be imputed, neither to any levity, nor duplicity, in him (for he was equally incapable of both); but to the wrong informations that were ſent him: by which, a foreigner, who reſided at ſo great a diſtance from England, might, eaſily enough, be liable to undue impreſſion.

apoſtles time. 2. Becauſe he thought it is duty to have regard to thoſe reformed churches [the churches of England and Ireland, for inſtance] which retained both biſhops and archbiſhops. And, 3. Becauſe all the reformed churches generally, although they had changed the names, yet, in effect, they kept the authority: as where they had ſuperintendents, &c. "And what," added Zanchius, "can be ſhewed more certainly, out of hiſtories, out of the councils, and out of the writings of all the ancient fathers, than that thoſe orders of miniſters, of which we have ſpoken, have been ordained and received in the church, by the general conſent of all Chriſtian common wealths? And who then am I, that I ſhould preſume to reprove that which the whole church hath approved?" See Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 653, 654.

On the whole, it appears, that the learned, the modeſt, the judicious Zanchy, was a faſt friend, not only to the doctrines, but alſo (a circumſtance not very uſual with the foreign Proteſtants of that age) to the hierarchy, of the church of England. Nor was the church unmindful of his worth and affection: for, by the voice of the Univerſity of Cambridge, in the year 1595, this great man was, expreſsly, and by name, numbered among "the lights and ornaments" of our eſtabliſhed church.—See my account of Zanchy, prefixed to my Tranſlation of his Treatiſe on Predeſtination.

SECTION

SECTION XVI.

The Judgment of the moſt eminent Engliſh Martyrs, and Confeſſors, who ſuffered Death, or Perſecution, after the Overthrow of the Reformation by Queen Mary I.

WE have ſeen in the three preceding Sections, 1. That the reformers of the Church of England were zealous Calviniſts, as to matters of doctrine: 2. That Calvin himſelf had a very conſiderable hand in reducing our liturgy to that purity and excellence, which it ſtill retains: and, 3. That Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, Sadeel, Bullinger, and Gualter, entertained very reſpectful and affectionate ſentiments, concerning the ritual decency and order, together with the epiſcopal regimen, of our incomparable Church. And, to the approbation of thoſe moſt learned perſons, might be added (if need required) that of many other foreign Calviniſts, who are deſervedly numbered among the firſt ornaments of that century.

While pious king Edward lived, the Church of England ſaw herſelf at the very pinnacle of ſpiritual proſperity. Her ſupreme viſible head was a prodigy of wiſdom, knowledge, and undefiled religion. Her biſhops were luminaries of the firſt brightneſs: men, glowing with love to God; clear in the doctrines of the goſpel, and zealous in maintaining them; of eminent learning, for the moſt part; aſſertors, and patterns, of every good word and work. Had Providence been pleaſed to have extended the felicities of that reign, what might not have been expected from a Prince of Edward's accompliſhments; and from a choir of prelates, whom grace, abilities, and almoſt every uſeful attainment, concurred to render venerable?

But

But God (whoſe diſpoſals are not leſs wiſe, juſt, and gracious, for being at preſent unſearchable) was pleaſed to reverſe the ſcene. The king's death opened Mary's way to the throne; who ruled not with a ſceptre, but a ſword.

That bigotted princeſs, and her Popiſh counſellors, knew, that the doctrines of gratuitous election, invincible grace, and juſtification without works, enter into the very baſis of genuine Proteſtantiſm. No wonder, therefore, that to rid the two Univerſities of all predeſtinarians, was a primary object of her attention. Free-will, conditional juſtification, and the merit of works, were doctrines ſo eſſential to the intereſt of Popery, that not to aim at (*t*) reſtoring them, would have been doing matters by halves. Therefore, "A reſolution was taken, to bring into the Univerſities a teſt for purging them of all Proteſtants, and to prevent their re-admiſſion for the future. This was done by way of oath, as follows:

"You ſhall ſwear, by the holy contents of this book, that you ſhall not keep, hold, maintain, and defend, at any time, during your life, any opinion erroneous, or error of Wickliff, Huſs, Luther, or any other condemned of hereſy:——And that you ſhall, namely and ſpecially, hold as the Catholic

(*t*) It deſerves particular notice, that, A. D. 1554 (which was the year after Mary came to the crown), Bonner publiſhed a book, for the re-inſtruction of his dioceſe in the principles of Popery, entitled, A Profitable and Neceſſary Doctrine, containing an Expoſition on the Creed, Seven Sacraments, Ten Commandments, the Pater-noſter, Ave Maria, &c. A conſiderable part of which was taken out of the Pia et Catholica Inſtitutio, which had been publiſhed in the reign of Henry VIII. See the Biogr. Dict. vol. ii. p. 264.—Thus Sellon's Arminian letter to the vicar of Broad Hembury, as alſo Dr. N's anſwer to the Author of Pietas Oxonienſis, are fraught with arguments borrowed from that ſelf-ſame Popiſh ſtorehouſe (viz. the Pia et Catholica Inſtitutio) which furniſhed Bonner with materials for his paſtoral letter to the dioceſe of London. Arminianiſm cares not what it eats. The foulest food will go down, ſo dear free-will is but kept from ſtarving.

church

church holdeth in all theſe articles, wherein lately hath been controverſy, diſſention, and error; as concerning faith, and works, grace and free-will, &c. (*x*)." Now, I have before demonſtrated (particularly, in the 3d and 4th Sections of this eſſay), that "in all theſe articles," which concern "faith and works, grace and free-will," the church of Rome is avowedly Arminian throughout. Conſequently, by tendering the above oath to the members of the Univerſities, queen Mary's deſign was, to clear thoſe ſeminaries of all Calviniſts; the better to make way for the re-introduction of Popery.

With the ſame view, a proclamation was iſſued, in 1555, to prohibit the ſale, the reading, or the keeping of any book or books, writings or works, made or ſet forth by or in the name of Martin Luther, O. Ecolampadius, Zuinglius, John Calvin, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Latimer, Hooper, Coverdale, Tyndal, Cranmer (*w*)," and other predeſtinarian Proteſtants whoſe names are there enumerated. 'Twas added, that all perſons, poſſeſſing any books written by the above authors, "Shall, within the ſpace of fifteen days next after the publication of this proclamation, bring, or deliver, or cauſe the ſaid books, writings, and works, and every of them, remaining in their cuſtody and keeping, to be brought and delivered, to the ordinary of the dioceſs, to be burnt," or otherwiſe deſtroyed. On which order, the pious Mr. Fox makes this obvious remark: What a-do is here, to keep down Chriſt in his ſepulchre! and yet will he riſe, in ſpite of all his enemies (*x*). The truth is, queen Mary and her Spaniſh huſband, in whoſe names that proclamation ran, well knew, that Calviniſm is the very life and ſoul of the reformation: and that Popery would never flouriſh, 'till the Calviniſtic doctrines were eradicated.

(*x*) Rolt's Lives Ref. p. 116. (*w*) Fox, iii. p. 225. (*x*) Ibid.

I have

I have already given ſome intimation (p. 310), from biſhop Burnet, of a brief confeſſion of faith, which was drawn up and ſigned by the Proteſtant biſhops and clergymen who were then impriſoned in London, ſhortly after the coronation of Mary. But as Burnet's extract is (according to cuſtom) very partial and ſuperficial, I ſhall here preſent my readers with the entire paragraph, to which that hiſtorian ſo lamely refers. "Fourthly, we believe and confeſs, concerning juſtification, that as it cometh only from God's mercy through Chriſt, ſo it is perceived and had of none, who be of years of diſcretion, otherwiſe than by faith only. Which faith is not an opinion, but a certain perſuaſion wrought by the Holy Ghoſt in the mind and heart of man; wherethrough, as the mind is illuminated, ſo the heart is ſuppled to ſubmit itſelf to the will of God unfeignedly; and ſo ſheweth forth an inherent righteouſneſs, which is to be diſcerned (i. e. which inherent righteouſneſs is to be carefully diſtinguiſhed), in the articles of juſtification, from the righteouſneſs which God endueth us withal, juſtifying us; although inſeparably they go together. And this we do [i. e. we preſerve this important diſtinction between imputed and inherent righteouſneſs], not for curioſity, or contention ſake; but for conſcience ſake; that it might be quiet; which it can never be, if we confound, without diſtinction, forgiveneſs of ſins and Chriſt's righteouſneſs imputed to us, with regeneration and inherent righteouſneſs." Thus ſpake theſe excellent divines: adding, immediately after, "by this," i. e. by this view of juſtification, "we diſallow Papiſtical doctrine of free-will, of works of ſupererogation, of merits, of the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion, and ſatisfaction to God-wards (*y*)." This valuable paper was dated the 8th day of May, An. Dom. 1554, and ſubſcribed by

(*y*) Fox's Acts and Mon. vol. iii. p. 83.

Robert

Robert Ferrar, late biſhop of St. Davids.	Edward Crome.
Rowland Taylor.	John Rogers.
John Philpot.	Laurence Saunders.
John Bradford.	Edmund Laurence.
John Hooper, late biſhop of Worceſter and Glouceſter.	J. P.
	T. M.

At the bottom of all was written, "To theſe things aboveſaid, do I, Miles Coverdale, late (biſhop) of Exeter, conſent and agree, with theſe mine afflicted brethren, being priſoners: mine own hand." Now, can any perſon queſtion the Calviniſm of theſe bleſſed men of God, by whom the tenet of free-will, and of juſtification by inherent righteouſneſs, were expreſsly numbered among "Papiſtical doctrines;" and claſſed with "works of ſupererogation, merits, and auricular confeſſion?"

A great number of God's faithful ſervants, both miniſters and people, were brought to the ſtake, for the teſtimony of Jeſus, and for the word of his patience, during the ſhort, but ſharp reign of this ſanguinary woman. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper, having been treated of already, I ſhall proceed to the brief mention of ſome others.

And here, amidſt the noble army of Engliſh martyrs, I find myſelf encompaſſed with ſo great a cloud of witneſſes to the doctrines of grace, that I ſcarce know whom to ſelect, or whom to omit.—Was I to introduce them all, I ſhould exceed every reaſonable limit of brevity. I am obliged, therefore, to ſuppreſs the atteſtations of many precious ſufferers for Chriſt, who witneſſed a good confeſſion even unto death, and who will be found with honour and praiſe and glory at his appearing. Among the few I ſhall produce, as vouchers for the reſt, are thoſe that follow:

I. Mr. John Rogers, prebendary and divinity-lecturer of St. Paul's, and vicar of St. Sepulchre's, London;

London; had the honour of being the firſt that was burned for the goſpel, under the bloody auſpices of Mary. He ſuffered in Smithfield, February 4, 1555. His judgment, concerning the Calvinian doctrines, is ſufficiently apparent, without adducing any other proofs, from the above-mentioned declaration of faith, to which he ſet his hand during his laſt impriſonment.

II. Mr. Laurence Saunders, a clergyman of birth and fortune, eminent as a ſcholar, but ſtill more reſpectable for the grace given him of God; was lecturer, firſt, at Fotheringhay: next, a reader in the cathedral of Litchfield; and, laſtly, rector of Allhallows, in Bread-ſtreet, London. He was burned at Coventry, Feb. 8, 1555. Though his hand, likewiſe, was to the declaration of faith, quoted above; I will annex one or two additional evidences of his Calviniſm: in hope, that, while they demonſtrate the clearneſs of the martyr's head, their piety may warm and impreſs the reader's heart. In a letter, ſent from priſon, to his wife, he thus expreſſed his triumph of faith: "I do not doubt, but that both I and you, as we be written in the book of life, ſo we ſhall together enjoy the ſame everlaſtingly, through the grace and mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son, our Chriſt.—I am merry, I thank my God and my Chriſt; in whom and thro' whom I ſhall, I know, be able to fight a good fight, and finiſh a good courſe (z)." In another letter to Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer (then priſoners at Oxford), this ſeraphic man obſerves: "We walk in faith: which faith, although, for want of outward appearance, reaſon reputeth but as vain; yet the choſen of God do know the effect thereof to bring a more ſubſtantial ſtate and lively fruition of very felicity and perfect bleſſedneſs, than reaſon can reach, or ſenſes receive. You may be aſſured, by

(z) Fox, vol. iii. p. 111.

God's

God's grace, that you ſhall not be fruſtrate of your hope of our conſtant continuance in the chearful confeſſion of God's everlaſting verity. For even as we have received the word of truth, the goſpel of our ſalvation; wherein we believing are ſealed with the holy ſpirit of promiſe, which is the earneſt of our inheritance (which ſpirit certifieth our ſpirit, that we are the children of God, and therefore God hath ſent the ſpirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father); ſo, after ſuch portion as God meaſureth unto us, we, with the whole Church of Chriſt, and with you, reverend fathers, receiving the ſame ſpirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I ſpoken; we alſo believe, and therefore ſpeak.——Knowing, moſt certainly, that, though we have this treaſure in earthen veſſels, that the excellency of this power might be God's, and not ours; yet ſhall we not be daſhed in pieces: for the Lord will put his hand under us.—To communicate with our ſweet Saviour Chriſt in bearing the croſs, it is appointed unto us, that with him alſo we ſhall be glorified (*a*)." Elſewhere, Mr. Saunders ſets his ſeal to the doctrine of final perſeverance, in terms, if poſſible, ſtronger ſtill: "Now that he hath, in his dear Chriſt, repaired us (being, before, utterly decayed); and redeemed us, purging us unto himſelf as a peculiar people, by the blood of his Son; he hath put on a moſt tender good-will and fatherly affection towards us, never to forget us (*b*)." Again; "Praiſed be our gracious God, who preſerveth his from evil; and doth give them grace to avoid all ſuch offences, as might hinder his honour, or hurt his Church (*c*)." Once more, "I take occaſion of much rejoicing in our ſo gracious God and merciful Father, who hath, in his immeaſurable mercy, by faith, hand-faſted us his

(*a*) Ibid. p. 112. (*b*) Ibid. p. 113. (*c*) Ibid.

choſen children unto his dear Son our Chriſt (*d*)." "We may boldly, with our Chriſt, and all his elect, ſay, Death, where is thy ſting (*e*)?" No ſelf-righteouſneſs lay at the foundation of this holy man's triumph. His whole truſt was in the covenant-merits of Jeſus the Saviour. Hence, in a ſhort letter, which is entitled, To his wife, a little before his burning; after deſiring her to ſend him a ſhirt in which he was to ſuffer, he breaks out into this ſweet prayer, "O my heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of thy Chriſt! or elſe, I ſhall not be able to abide thy countenance; ſuch is my filthineſs. He will do ſo: and therefore I will not be afraid what ſin, hell, death, and damnation, can do againſt me (*f*)." His ſpiritual conſolations continued with him to the laſt. When arrived at the place of execution, he kiſſed the ſtake: ſaying, in a tranſport of joy, welcome, the croſs of Chriſt; welcome, everlaſting life!

III. Dr. Rowland Taylor was rector of Hadley, in Suffolk. We may form a judgment of that wonderful out-pouring of the holy ſpirit, and of the diffuſive ſpread of divine knowledge, which attended the preaching of the goſpel in the age of the reformation, from what Mr. Fox delivers, concerning the ſtate of religion in that particular town. "The town of Hadley was one of the firſt that received the goſpel in all England, at the preaching of Mr. Thomas Bilney: by whoſe induſtry the goſpel of Chriſt had ſuch gracious ſucceſs, and took ſuch root there, that a great number in that pariſh became exceeding well learned in the Holy Scriptures, as well women as men. So that a man might have found amongſt them many, who had often read the whole Bible through, and who could have ſaid a great ſort of St. Paul's epiſtles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly, learned ſentence in any matter

(*d*) Ibid. p. 116. (*e*) Ibid. (*f*) Ibid. p. 118.

of

of controverſy. Their children and ſervants were alſo brought up and trained ſo diligently in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town ſeemed rather an univerſity of the learned, than a town of cloth-making, or labouring people: and, what is moſt to be commended, they were, for the more part, faithful followers of God's word in their living. In this town was Doctor Rowland Taylor, doctor in both the civil and canon laws, and a right perfect divine, parſon (*g*)." What a melancholy contraſt, alas! are the preſent times, to thoſe! How has the introduction of Arminianiſm poiſoned our Proteſtant ſtreams, and cankered our evangelical gold!

Dr. Taylor was a very uncommon man, both for grace and gifts. He had the piety of Calvin, the intrepidity of Luther, and the orthodoxy of both. When biſhop Bonner came to degrade him, in the Poultry Compter, prior to his martyrdom, he [Bonner] deſired the magnanimous priſoner to put on the ſacerdotal habit, that he might be diveſted of it in form. "I am come, quoth Bonner, to degrade you: wherefore put on theſe veſtures. No, ſaid Dr. Taylor, I will not. Wilt thou not? anſwered the biſhop; I ſhall make thee, ere I go. Quoth Dr. Taylor, you ſhall not, by the grace of God. Then he charged him, upon his obedience, to do it: but he would not do it for him (*h*)." 'Tis uſual, it ſeems, in Popiſh degradations, for the biſhop to give the degraded perſon a ſlight ſtroke on the breaſt, with a croſier. Bonner was afraid (for perſecutors are generally cowards) to perform this part of the ceremony on Taylor. "At the laſt," ſays Mr. Fox, "when he ſhould have given Dr. Taylor a ſtroke on the breaſt with his croſier-ſtaff, the biſhop's chaplain ſaid, my lord, ſtrike him not, for he will ſure ſtrike again. Yea, by St. Peter will

(*g*) Fox, vol. iii. p. 137. (*h*) Ibid. p. 143.

I, quoth Dr. Taylor: the cauſe is Chriſt's: and I were no good Chriſtian, if I would not fight in my maſter's quarrel. So the biſhop laid his curſe upon him, but ſtruck him not. (Bonner being gone, the doctor returned up ſtairs); and when he came up, he told Mr. Bradford (for they both lay in one chamber) that he had made the biſhop of London afraid; for, ſaid he, laughing, his chaplain gave him counſel not to ſtrike me with his croſier-ſtaff, for that I would ſtrike again; and, by my troth, continued he, rubbing his hands, I made him believe I would do ſo indeed (*i*)."

That this eminent meſſenger and martyr of Chriſt was one who rightly divided the word of truth, the following ſhort extracts will ſuffice to ſhew. His judgment was, that the Mediator died for thoſe only who are endued with faith: "Chriſt gave himſelf," ſaid he, "to die for our redemption, upon the croſs; whoſe body, there offered, was the propitiatory ſacrifice, full, perfect, and ſufficient unto ſalvation, for all them that believe in him (*k*)." He held the doctrine of aſſurance: and no wonder; for God had favoured him with the gift itſelf. Hence, four days before his execution, he thus ſubſcribed his laſt will and teſtament: "Rowland Taylor, departing hence in ſure hope, without all doubting, of eternal ſalvation; I thank God, my heavenly Father, through Jeſus Chriſt my certain Saviour, Amen. The 5th of February, anno 1555. The Lord is my light and my ſalvation: whom then ſhall I fear? God is he that juſtifieth: who is he that can condemn? In thee, O Lord, have I truſted: let me never be confounded." All aſſurance of ſalvation, not grounded on certainty of perſeverance, is, in the moſt ſuperlative degree, baſeleſs, contradictory, and enthuſiaſtic. But this good man's aſſurance was not thus built on a bubble. "I am," ſaid he, "unmovably

(*i*) Ibid. (*k*) Ibid. p. 139.

ſettled

ſettled upon the rock: nothing doubting, but that my dear God will perform and finiſh the work that he hath begun in me and others (*l*)." I will only add a judicious remark of his, concerning juſtification: "Abraham's juſtification by faith, by grace, by promiſe, and not by works, is plainly ſet forth, both in the Epiſtle to the Romans, chap. iv. and to the Galatians, chap. iii. And Abraham's works of obedience, in offering up his ſon ſo long after his juſtification, muſt needs be taken as a fruit of a good tree, juſtifying before men, and not of juſtification before God: for then had man [i. e. man would then have ſomewhat] to glory in; then did Chriſt die in vain (*m*)." Now, as men, by the goſpel ſcheme of ſalvation, have nothing to glory in, nothing to boaſt of, nothing to reſt upon, but the grace of God and the Meſſiah's obedience unto death; it follows, that men cannot be juſtified in the ſight of God, by their own works, neither in whole, nor in part: ſince, if they could, they would have ſomething elſe to glory in, beſides that grace and imputed righteouſneſs, which the Scripture avers are the only baſis of a ſinner's juſtification.—Moreover, as this bleſſed martyr further obſerves from the apoſtle, Chriſt died in vain, on the ſuppoſition that human works have any antecedent influence on our acceptance with God: for, as much conditionalty, or caſualty, as you aſcribe to works; juſt ſo much you detract from the merit and efficacy of Chriſt's blood and righteouſneſs. The Saviour of ſinners obeyed and died, either to accompliſh the whole of our juſtification, or a part of it only. If to accompliſh the whole, then juſtification by works falls at once. If his merits accompliſhed our juſtification only in part, then our own works muſt come in, by way of ſupplement, to make up what Chriſt left deficient: on which ſuppoſition, as human obe-

(*l*) Ibid. p. 142. (*m*) Ibid. p. 147.

dience would have ſome hand in juſtifying us, ſo it would be fairly entitled to a ſhare of the praiſe; for, if Chriſt has actually divided the work of ſalvation between himſelf and ſinners, it is but equitable that the honour ſhould be divided alſo. The Bible, however, cuts up this ſacrilegious and ſelf-righteous ſcheme, both root and branch: and, without giving the lie in form to every page of that bleſſed book, we cannot believe that Chriſt's mediatorial righteouſneſs has any deficiency to make up. Admitting, therefore, that his work was perfect, and that he truly ſaid, it is finiſhed; the conſequence will be, that our good works (though abſolutely requiſite, *ex poſt facto*, as indications of juſtification; yet) have no kind of agency, whatever, in accompliſhing, procuring, obtaining, or conditionating our pardon and acceptance with the Father. Since, if Chriſt redeemed us completely, and any remaining efficacy be ſtill ſuppoſed to reſide in our own works; that efficacy (be it more or leſs) renders ſuperfluous an equal ratio of the merit of Chriſt's complete redemption: and thus, ſo far, Chriſt, on this ſcheme, muſt have died in vain. But it was impoſſible for Chriſt to die in vain: therefore, human works have no hand in juſtification.—This ſeems, to me, the preciſe drift of the apoſtle's argument, Gal. ii. 21. If righteouſneſs, either juſtification itſelf, or any part of the righteouſneſs which juſtifies, come by the law, accrue, though ever ſo remotely, to any ſinner, by or through his own conformity to the moral law; then it would follow, that Chriſt is dead in vain: but Chriſt could not die in vain: ergo, neither juſtification itſelf, nor the righteouſneſs which juſtifies, can accrue, though ever ſo remotely, to any ſinner, by or through his own conformity to the moral law. But does not St. James affirm, that Abraham was juſtified by works, when he offered his ſon Iſaac on the altar? Certainly he was. But it was a juſtification before men, not before God. As good Dr. Rowland

Rowland Taylor remarks, Abraham had been juſtified before God, long, even many years, before his intentional oblation of Iſaac: yea, many years before Iſaac himſelf was born. Abraham's juſtification in the ſight of God is related, Gen. xv. 6. But even the birth of Iſaac does not occur, till you come to chapter the xxiſt. I conclude, then, that the juſtification, of which St. James ſpeaks, is no more than an evidential juſtification before men, by viſible works of external obedience; declaring, manifeſting, and proving, a prior juſtification before God: which prior juſtification before God is in no ſenſe founded upon, tho' moſt certainly productive of, all holineſs of life and converſation. St. Paul viewed the matter exactly in the ſame light: by faith, Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Iſaac; and he that had received the promiſes, offered up his only begotten ſon, Heb. xi. 17. Obſerve, his receiving of the promiſes (by which faith, or reception, he was divinely juſtified in the court of his own conſcience), his receiving of the promiſes reſpecting ſalvation by Chriſt, was antecedent to his offering of Iſaac. Conſequently, having been already actually juſtified by the former; the juſtification, mentioned by St. James, can only mean a declarative diſplay, or practical proof, of Abraham's (and, by the ſame rule, of any other believer's) preceding juſtification in the ſight of God, without works.—The reader, I hope, will forgive this incidental diſquiſition: which, tho' in ſome meaſure excurſive, is not wholly digreſſive; as it attempts to elucidate, more at large, what the excellent martyr intimated in brief.

IV, and V. Soon after the burning of Dr. Taylor, Mr. Thomas Cauſton, and Mr. Thomas Higbed, ſealed the truth with their blood. Fox expreſsly ſays, that theſe two elect champions were "condemned for the confeſſion of faith," which they united in drawing up and preſenting to Bonner. Part

of that confeſſion was as follows: "We believe, that there is a Catholic church, even a communion of ſaints, built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles (as Paul ſaith), Chriſt being the head corner-ſtone. For the which church, Chriſt gave himſelf, to make it to himſelf a glorious congregation, without fault in his ſight.—We believe, that this church, of herſelf, and by her own merits, is ſinful; and muſt needs ſay, Father, forgive us our ſins. But, thro' Chriſt and his merits, ſhe is freely forgiven: for he, in his own perſon, hath purged her ſins, and made her faultleſs in his ſight (*n*)." Can words more ſtrongly expreſs a redemption abſolute, limited, and efficacious?

VI. Mr. Stephen Knight was burnt at Maldon, in Eſſex, March 28, 1555. Part of his prayer at the ſtake was, "Thou remembereſt, O Lord, that I am but duſt, and able to do nothing that is good: therefore, O Lord, as, of thine accuſtomed goodneſs and love, thou haſt bidden me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own cup, amongſt thy elect; even ſo give me ſtrength, &c. (*o*)."

VII. The right reverend Doctor Robert Farrer, lord biſhop of St. David's, a prelate of eminent name in the Church of England, and formerly one of the committee nominated to compile the Engliſh liturgy (*p*); was burned in the market-place at Caermarthen, March 30, 1555. On his examination, a paper containing ſeveral Popiſh articles, was tendered to him for ſubſcription: but he reſolutely refuſed to ſave his life at the expence of his faith. One of theſe articles, which reſpected juſtification, was as follows: "Men are not juſtified before God, by faith only; but hope and charity are alſo neceſ-

(*n*) Fox, vol. iii. p. 162. (*o*) Ibid. p. 165.
(*p*) See Burnet's Reform. vol. ii. p. 58.

farily

ſarily required to juſtification (*q*)." The biſhop's not acceding to this Papiſtical tenet (a tenet, now, as common to Arminians, as ever it was to Papiſts), was one cauſe of his being adjudged to the flames: for, in the ſentence of condemnation, which enumerated ſome of the pretended errors for which he was caſt, the following clauſe brings up the rear: Item, *quod homo ſola fide juſtificatur:* i. e. "Alſo, he believeth, that men are juſtified by faith alone (*r*)." The reader, I ſuppoſe, need not be reminded, that this worthy biſhop was one of thoſe impriſoned divines who drew up and ſat their hands to the confeſſion of faith, quoted toward the beginning of this Section.—His lordſhip's execution was attended with a very remarkable circumſtance. A Mr. Jones coming to condole him on the painfulneſs of the death he was to undergo, the holy biſhop made anſwer, if you ſee me once to ſtir, while I am burning, then give no credit to the truth of the doctrines for which I ſuffer. God, under whoſe inſpiration, undoubtedly, this was uttered, enabled his faithful martyr to make good his promiſe: for he ſtood, incircled with the flames, like a rock in the midſt of the waves, without flinching, or moving ſo much as once: ſteadily holding up his arms, even when his hands were burnt away; till one Richard Gravel, a bye-ſtander, "daſhed him on the head with a ſtaff, and ſo ſtruck him down (*s*)."

VIII. Mr. George Marſh ſuffered martyrdom at or near Cheſter, April 24, 1555. This good man was as truly Calviniſtic, as the reſt of his Proteſtant brethren; for, being charged on his examination before Cotes, the Popiſh biſhop of Cheſter, with having ſaid, "That the church and doctrine, taught and ſet forth in king Edward's time, was the true church, and the doctrine of the true church;" Marſh acknowledged that he had ſo ſpoken, and

(*q*) Fox, vol. iii. p. 177. (*r*) Ibid. p. 178. (*s*) Ibid.

declared

declared himſelf ſtill to be of the ſame mind (*t*). If more particular proof of his judgment be thought neceſſary, the enſuing paſſages, extracted from ſome of his letters, offer themſelves as evidences. "Tho' Satan," ſays he, "be ſuffered to ſift us, as wheat, for a time; yet faileth not our faith, thro' Chriſt's aid (*u*)."—Again: "If any, therefore, fall away from Chriſt and his word, it is a plain token, that they were but diſſembling hypocrites, for all their fair faces outwardly, and never believed truly: as Judas, Simon Magus, Demas, Hymenæus, Philetus, and others were (*w*)."—Once more: "Daily I call and cry unto the Lord, in whom is all my truſt, and without whom I can do nothing; that he, who hath begun a good work in me, would vouchſafe to go forth with it until the day of Jeſus Chriſt: being ſurely certified in my conſcience, of this, that he will do ſo; foraſmuch as he hath given me, not only that I ſhould believe on him, but alſo ſuffer for his ſake (*x*)." What he thought concerning the invincible efficacy of inward grace, appears from this paſſage in the prayer which the hiſtorian tells us, "he uſed daily to ſay:"—We beſeech thee, according to the little meaſure of our infirmity, altho' we be far unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldeſt mercifully circumciſe our ſtony hearts; and, for theſe old hearts, create new within us, and repleniſh us with a new ſpirit (*y*).——Nor was his judgment, reſpecting faith, juſtification, and works, leſs excellent and ſcriptural. "What haſt thou, ſaith the apoſtle, that thou haſt not received? This ſentence ought to be had in remembrance of all men: for, if we have nothing, but that which we have received, what can we deſerve? or what need we to diſpute and reaſon of our own merits? It cometh of the free gift of God, that we live, that

(*t*) Ibid. p. 190. (*u*) Ibid. p. 192. (*w*) Ibid. p. 194.
(*x*) Ibid. p. 199. (*y*) Ibid.

we

we love God, that we walk in his fear. Where is our deſerving then (*z*) !"—Elſewhere, he writes thus: "Grace is, throughout all the Epiſtles of Paul, taken for the free mercy and favour of God; whereby he ſaveth us freely, without any deſervings, or works of the law (*a*)." Reconciliation with God, through the blood of Chriſt, is a ſubject, which this holy martyr treats of, with equal clearneſs: "Peace is taken for the quietneſs and tranquillity of the conſcience, being thoroughly perſuaded, that through the only merits of Chriſt's death and blood-ſhedding, there is an atonement and peace made between God and us: ſo that God will no more impute our ſins unto us, nor yet condemn us (*b*)." Yet are not good works hereby diſcarded: "Declare your faith," ſays he, "by your good works, which are infallible witneſſes of the true juſtifying faith, which is never idle, but worketh by charity (*c*)." Again: "After theſe works, we muſt learn to know the croſs, and what affection and mind we muſt bear towards our adverſaries and enemies, whatſoever they be; to ſuffer all adverſities and evils patiently; to pray for them that hurt, perſecute, and trouble us: and, by thus uſing ourſelves, we ſhall obtain an hope and certainty of our vocation, that we be the elect children of God (*d*)." He obſerves, that "God is wont, for the moſt part, to warn his elect and choſen, what affliction and trouble ſhall happen unto them for his ſake: not to the intent to fray them thereby, but rather to prepare their minds againſt the boiſterous ſtorms of perſecution (*e*)." Next to the effectual preſence of the holy ſpirit, nothing, perhaps, ſo ſtrengthens and animates the minds of God's people to be valiant for his truths, as the examples of thoſe who are enabled to lay down their lives for Chriſt: whence we find Mr. Marſh ſaying, as the apoſtle did before him, "We ſuffer

(*z*) Ibid. p. 196. (*a*) Ibid. p. 197. (*b*) Ibid.
(*c*) Ibid. p. 194. (*d*) Ibid. p. 195. (*e*) Ibid. p. 198.

all

all things for the elect's ſake (*f*)." His judicious explication of Col. i. 24. ſhall at preſent cloſe the teſtimony of this worthy martyr: "St. Paul doth not here mean, that there wanteth any thing in the paſſion of Chriſt, which may be ſupplied by man: for the paſſion of Chriſt, as touching his own perſon, is that moſt perfect and omni-ſufficient ſacrifice, whereby we are all made perfect, as many as are ſanctified in his blood. But theſe his words [i. e. the Apoſtle's words in the above text] ought to be underſtood of the elect and choſen, in whom Chriſt is and ſhall be perſecuted unto the world's end (*g*)."

IX. Mr. John Warne, upholſterer and citizen of London, was burned, in Smithfield, May 31, 1555. The day before he ſuffered, he wrote a confeſſion of his faith, in form of a commentary on the Apoſtles Creed. The confeſſion, tho' long, is ſo excellent, that I cannot help giving it entire.

"*I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.*"

"A Father, becauſe he is the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is the everlaſting word, whom, before all worlds, he hath begotten of himſelf; which word was made fleſh, and therein alſo manifeſted to be his Son: in whom he hath adopted us to be his children, the inheritors of his kingdom; and therefore he is our Father. An Almighty God, becauſe he hath, of nothing, created all things, viſible and inviſible, both in Heaven and earth, even all creatures contained therein; and governeth them."

"*And in Jeſus Chriſt, his only Son, our Lord.*"

"The eternal word, perfect God with his Father, of equal power in all things, of the ſame ſubſtance, of like glory, by whom all things were made and have life, and without whom nothing liveth. He was made alſo perfect man: and ſo, being very God

(*f*) Ibid. (*g*) Ibid.

and

and very man in one perſon, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Ranſomer, of them which were loſt in Adam our forefather. He is the only mean of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the ſurety of our ſalvation."

" *Who was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin* Mary."

" According to the Father's moſt merciful promiſe, this Eternal Son of God, forſaking the heavenly glory, humbled himſelf to take fleſh of a virgin, according to the Scriptures: uniting the ſubſtance of the Godhead to the ſubſtance of the manhood, which he took of the ſubſtance of that bleſſed Virgin Mary, in one perſon; to become therein the very Meſſiah, the anointed King and Prieſt, forever appointed to pacify the Father's wrath, which was juſtly gone out againſt us all for our ſin."

" *Suffered under* Pontius Pilate, *was crucified, dead, and buried, and deſcended into Hell.*"

" He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate, the ruler of Jewry; and ſo unjuſtly accuſed of many crimes, that the ruler judged him innocent, and ſought means to deliver him: but contrary to known juſtice, he did let go Barabbas, who had deſerved death; and delivered Chriſt to be crucified, who deſerved no death. Which doth declare unto us, manifeſtly, that he ſuffered for our ſins, and was buffetted for our offences, as the Prophets do witneſs: thereby to have it manifeſted to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the ſins of the world. Therefore, ſuffering for our ſins, he received and did bear our deſerved condemnation, the pains of death, the taſte of abjection, the very terror of Hell: yielding his ſpirit to his Father; his body, to be buried in the earth."

" *The third day, he roſe again from the dead.*"

" To make full and perfect the whole work of our redemption and juſtification, the ſame crucified body, which was laid in the grave, was raiſed up again,

again, the third day, from death, by the power of his Father, and glory of his godhead. He became the firſt fruits of the reſurrection, and got the victory of death, that all by him might be raiſed up from death: through whom all true penitent ſinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remiſſion of their ſins."

" *He aſcended into Heaven, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty.*"

" After that, in his death and reſurrection, he had conquered ſin, death, and the Devil, and had been converſant 40 days in the earth, being ſeen of the Apoſtles, and more than 500 brethren at once; in the ſame body, in which he wrought the work of our ſalvation, he aſcended into Heaven, with eternal triumph for the victory over death, ſin, and Hell: leaving the paſſage open, by which all true believers may and ſhall enter into his kingdom; where he now ſitteth at his Father's right hand, that is to ſay, in power and glory, equal in Majeſty co-eternal."

" *From thence he ſhall come, to judge the quick and the dead.*"

" He ſhall appear again, in great glory, to receive his elect unto himſelf, and to put his enemies under his feet: changing all living men, in a moment; and raiſing up all that be dead; that all may be brought to his judgment. In this ſhall he give each man according to his deeds. They who have followed him in regeneration, who have their ſins waſhed away in his blood, and are cloathed with his righteouſneſs, ſhall receive the everlaſting kingdom, and reign with him forever. And they, who, after the race of the corrupt generation of Adam, have followed fleſh and blood, ſhall receive everlaſting damnation with the Devil and his angels."

" *I believe in the Holy Ghoſt.*"

" I do believe, that the Holy Ghoſt is God; the third perſon in the trinity; in unity of the Godhead

equal

equal with the Father and the Son: given, through Chriſt, to inhabit our ſpirits; by which we are made to feel and underſtand the great power, virtue, and loving kindneſs, of Chriſt our Lord. For he [i. e. the Holy Ghoſt] illuminates, quickens, and certifies our ſpirit, that by him we are ſealed up to the day of redemption: by whom we are regenerate, and made new creatures: ſo that, by him, and through him, we do receive all the abundant goodneſs promiſed us in Jeſus Chriſt."

" *The Holy Catholic Church.*"

" This is an holy number of Adam's poſterity, elected, gathered, waſhed, and purified by the blood, from the beginning of the world; and is diſperſed through the ſame, by the tyranny of Gog and Magog, i. e. [by] the Turk and his tyranny; and Antichriſt, otherwiſe named the biſhop of Rome, and his angels [i. e. his emiſſaries], as this day alſo doth teach."

" *The Communion of Saints.*"

" Which moſt holy congregation (being, as St. Paul teacheth, builded upon the foundation of the Apoſtles, and Prophets, Jeſus Chriſt being the head-corner ſtone), tho' it be, by the tyranny of Satan and his miniſters, perſecuted, ſome by death, and ſome by other afflictions and painful torments; yet doth it remain in one perfect unity, both of faith and fellowſhip. Which unity is knit in an unſpeakable knot, as well of them who are departed from this mortal life, as of them who now be living, and hereafter ſhall be in the ſame: and ſo ſhall continue, until they all do meet in the kingdom, where the head, Jeſus Chriſt, with all his holy members (of which number, through Chriſt, I aſſuredly believe I am one), ſhall be fully complete, knit, and united together, forevermore."

" *The forgiveneſs of Sins.*"

" I do believe, that my ſins, and all their ſins who do rightly believe the Holy Scripture, are forgiven

given only through Jeſus Chriſt; of whom only, I do profeſs, that I have my whole and full ſalvation and redemption: which St. Paul ſaith, cometh not through our works and deſervings, but freely by grace, leſt any ſhould boaſt himſelf. Through the blood of the croſs, all things in Heaven and earth are reconciled and ſet at peace with the Father [i.e. as it immediately follows], without him [without Chriſt] no heavenly life [is] given, no ſin forgiven."

"*The Reſurrection of the Body.*"

"I do believe, that, by the ſame my Saviour Chriſt, I and all men ſhall riſe again from death: for he, as Paul ſaith, is riſen again from the dead, and is become the firſt-fruits of them that ſleep; for by a man came death, and by a man cometh the reſurrection from death. This man [by whom the reſurrection comes], is Chriſt; through the power of whoſe reſurrection, I believe that we ſhall riſe again in theſe our bodies: the elect, cloathed with immortality, to live with Chriſt forever; the reprobate alſo ſhall riſe immortal, to live with the Devil and his angels in death everlaſting."

"*And the Life everlaſting.*"

"Through the ſame Jeſus, and by none other, I am ſure to have life everlaſting. He only is the way and entrance into the kingdom of Heaven. For ſo God loved the world, that he did give his only Son Jeſus Chriſt, to the end that ſo many as do believe in him might have everlaſting life. The which I am ſure to poſſeſs, ſo ſoon as I am diſſolved, and departed out of this tabernacle; and in the laſt day, ſhall, both body and ſoul, poſſeſs the ſame forever: to the which, God grant all men to come.

"I believe, that the ſacraments, that is to ſay, of baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper, are ſeals of God's moſt merciful promiſes towards mankind. In baptiſm, as, by the outward creature of water, I am waſhed from the filthineſs which hangeth on my fleſh; ſo do I aſſuredly believe, that I am, by Chriſt's blood,

blood, waſhed clean from my ſins: through which [ſpiritual waſhing] I have ſure confidence of my certain ſalvation. In partaking of the Lord's ſupper, as I receive the ſubſtance of bread and wine, the nature of which is to ſtrengthen the body; ſo do I, by faith, receive the redemption wrought in Chriſt's body broken on the croſs, life by his death, reſurrection by his reſurrection, and, in ſum, all that ever Chriſt in his body ſuffered for my ſalvation, to the ſtrengthening of my faith in the ſame. And I believe that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wine, in his holy ſupper, according to his word, to move and to ſtir up my mind to believe theſe articles above written.

"This is my faith: this do I believe: and I am content, by God's grace, to confirm and ſeal the truth of the ſame with my blood.

"By me, John Warne (*h*)."

X. At the ſame ſtake with Mr. Warne, ſuffered that memorable dignitary of the Church of England, the reverend Mr. John Cardmaker; canon reſidentiary, and treaſurer, of the cathedral church of Wells, and vicar of St. Bride's, Fleet-ſtreet. There is, ſo far as I have yet been able to find, no more than a ſingle letter of his extant, and that a very ſhort one: but, conciſe as it is, it contains a clauſe, from whence we may infer the Calviniſm of this excellent man. "The Lord," ſays he to his friend and correſpondent, "ſtrengthen you, me, and all his elect (*i*)."

XI. Mr. Thomas Haukes, a gentleman of Eſſex, ſuffered at Coggleſhall, in that county, June 10, 1555. A little before his execution, ſeveral of his particular friends, who, tho' ſtedfaſt Proteſtants, were in ſome degree of bondage, through fear of that violent death, which they knew not how ſoon they

(*h*) Fox, Ibid. p. 206, 207.
(*i*) Fox, Ibid. p. 207. And Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. p. 260.

might be called to undergo; requeſted him, that if the pain of burning was at all tolerable, he would give them a ſignal before he expired. The good man promiſed them, that he would: and the token fixed upon, was, that he ſhould elevate his hands above his head, towards Heaven, ere his ſoul aſcended to God.—Being faſtened to the ſtake, the faggots were kindled: "In which, when he had continued long, and when his ſpeech was taken away by the violence of the flame, his ſkin ſhriveled, and his fingers conſumed, ſo that all thought certainly he had been gone; ſuddenly, and contrary to all expectation, the bleſſed ſervant of God, being mindful of his promiſe aforemade, lifted up his hands (which were all in a blaze) over his head, and triumphantly ſtruck them together thrice. At the ſight of which, the ſpectators, they eſpecially who were appriſed of the ſignal, gave uncommon ſhouts of joy and applauſe. And ſo the bleſſed martyr of Chriſt, ſtraightway ſinking down into the fire, yielded up his ſpirit (*k*)."

Mr. Haukes's principles, as to the doctrine of grace, are ſufficiently apparent, from the two following paſſages. "Tho' the world rage," ſaid he, "and blaſpheme the elect of God; ye know that it did ſo unto Chriſt, his apoſtles, and to all that were in the primitive church (*l*)." In a letter to a perſon who had promiſed to take charge of his ſon's education, he wrote thus; "I hope to meet both him and you among all God's elect (*m*)."

XII. Mr. Nicolas Sheterden was burned at Canterbury, July 12, 1555. Praying at the ſtake, he ſaid, "O Father, I do not preſume unto thee in my own righteouſneſs: No! but only in the merits of thy dear Son, my Saviour. For the which excellent gift of ſalvation, I cannot worthily praiſe thee (*n*)."

(*k*) Fox, Ibid. p. 220. (*l*) Ibid. p. 221. (*m*) Ibid. p. 222.
(*n*) Ibid. p. 313.

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To his ſurviving brother he thus expreſſed himſelf: "God is the giver of all goodneſs, and that freely, for his love to us; not only without our deſerts, but contrary to the ſame (*o*)." Again: "Dear brother, my heart's deſire and prayer to God is, that we may together enjoy the bliſs of eternal inheritance, by one ſpiritual regeneration and new birth (*p*)."

XIII. Mr. John Newman was crowned with martyrdom, at Saffron Walden, Auguſt 31, 1555. "Faith," ſaid this Chriſtian hero, "is the gift of God, and cometh not of man (*q*)." Having occaſion to treat of the extent of Chriſt's death, he thus delivered his belief: "With that one ſacrifice of his body, once offered on the croſs, he hath made perfect, forever, all them that are ſanctified (*r*)." Adding, "I believe that there is an holy church, which is the company of the faithful and elect people of God, diſperſed abroad throughout the whole world (*s*)."

XIV. In the ſame month, Mr. Robert Smith was burnt at Uxbridge. Some of his excellent obſervations were theſe: "In Corinth was not all the congregation of God; but a number of thoſe holy and elect people of God (*t*)."—Referring to the perſecuting time in which he lived, "The prince of darkneſs," ſaid he, "is broken looſe, and rageth, in his members, againſt the elect of God (*u*). By theſe means, God will try his elect, as gold in the furnace (*w*)." He aſſerts the abſolute freeneſs of ſalvation in all its parts: "All favour, mercy, and forgiveneſs, cometh only by Chriſt. He only, of God the Father, was made, for us, all wiſdom, righteouſneſs, ſanctification, and redemption. All theſe are the gifts of God the Father, freely given unto

(*o*) Ibid. p. 315. (*p*) Ibid. (*q*) Ibid. p. 325.
(*r*) Ibid. p. 326. (*s*) Ibid. (*t*) Ibid. p. 331.
(*u*) Ibid. p. 339. (*w*) Ibid. p. 341.

us, by Chriſt Jeſus, God and man, through faith in his blood, and not by the merits of men. Gifts they are, I ſay; freely given unto us, of favour, without our deſert: by believing, and not by deſerving. To this do the law and the prophets bear witneſs (*x*)."—Let us juſt hear him on the article of perſeverance: God "hath numbered all the hairs of his children's heads, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh without his Fatherly will. He keepeth the ſparrows: much more will he preſerve them, whom he hath purchaſed with the blood of the immaculate Lamb (*y*)."

God honoured the martyrdom of this pious perſon, with a diſplay of divine goodneſs and power, not unſimilar to what was related of Mr. Haukes. Before Mr. Smith was chained to the ſtake, he converſed with the people that ſurrounded him, concerning the goodneſs of the cauſe for which he was about to ſuffer; and expreſſed his certainty of again receiving, at the reſurrection, that body which he was then reſigning to the flames: adding, I doubt not, but God will ſhew you ſome token thereof. And ſo it proved. For, "at length, being well-nigh half-burned, and alſo black with fire, cluſtered together as in a lump, and ſuppoſed by all to be dead; he ſuddenly roſe upright before the people, lifting up the ſtumps of his arms, and clapping them together: after which, bending down again, and hanging over the fire, he ſlept in the Lord (*z*)."—Thus, on ſome great occaſions,

Heav'n owns its friends, and points them out to men!

XV. Mr. Robert Samuel, who had been an eminent and uſeful preacher in king Edward's days, was burned at Ipſwich, Aug. 31, 1555. But not till he had borne a laſting teſtimony to the goſpel, in the few, but precious papers, which he bequeath-

(*x*) Ibid. p. 340. (*y*) Ibid. p. 341. (*z*) Ibid. p. 342.

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ed to the church of God. "Touching the Father of Heaven," ſays he, "I believe as much as Holy Scripture teacheth me to believe. The Father is the firſt perſon in the Trinity, [and] firſt cauſe of our ſalvation: who hath bleſſed us with all manner of bleſſings in heavenly things by Chriſt. Who hath choſen us, before the foundations of the world were laid, that we ſhould be holy, and without blame before him. Who hath predeſtinated us, and ordained us, to be his children of adoption, through Chriſt Jeſus (*a*)." For theſe predeſtinated perſons, ſanctified and ſet apart by the Father, Mr. Samuel believed that Chriſt became obedient unto death: Chriſt, "Is made unto us, of God, that only ſacrifice and oblation, offered, once for all and forever, for all them that be ſanctified (*b*)." Between Chriſt and theſe there is a bleſſed commutation, or exchange, of ſin and righteouſneſs: Chriſt takes away the guilt of their treſpaſſes, and conſigns over to them the merit of his own active and paſſive ſatisfaction to the divine law. This was the doctrine of our martyred preacher: "His [i. e. Chriſt's] innocency, his righteouſneſs, his holineſs, his juſtice, is our's, given us of God: and our ſins and unrighteouſneſs, by his obedience, and abaſing of himſelf to the death of the croſs, are his (*c*)." Such as are elected, redeemed, and juſtified, ſhall be preſerved to God's kingdom and glory: "Now that Chriſt our head is riſen, we being his body and members, muſt follow our head [i. e. our bodies ſhall, like his, be raiſed to eternal life]. Death, Hell, and ſin, cannot ſunder nor pluck us from him. For, as the Son cannot be divided nor ſundered from the Father, nor the Holy Ghoſt from them both; no more may we, being the faithful [i. e. the believing] members of Chriſt, be ſeparated from Chriſt (*d*).—Chriſt affirmed the ſame; ſaying, My ſheep hear my voice: I know them: they hearken unto me, and to no

(*a*) Ibid. p. 348. (*b*) Ibid. (*c*) Ibid. (*d*) Ibid.

ſtrangers: and I give them everlaſting life; and they ſhall not be loſt: and no man ſhall pluck them out of my hands. No, nor yet this flattering world, with all his vain pleaſures; nor any tyrant, with his great threats and ſtout brags; can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What conſolation and comfort may we have, more pleaſant and effectuous than this?——We are members of his body, and of his fleſh, and of his bones; and as dear to him, as the apple of his eye (*e*)."

XVI. Mr. Robert Glover became a burnt-offering for the truth's ſake, at Coventry, in September, 1555. Valuable is the teſtimony which he bore to the doctrine of election. Speaking of ſaints, he juſtly affirms, that "They were no bringers of any goodneſs to God, but altogether receivers. They choſe not God firſt, but he choſe them. They loved not God firſt, but he loved them firſt. Yea, he both loved and choſe them, when they were [conſidered as] his enemies, full of ſin and corruption, and void of all goodneſs (*f*)." Purſuant to this evangelical view of the ſubject, Mr. Glover thus addreſſed the adorable Majeſty: "O Lord, thou ſheweſt power, in weakneſs; wiſdom, in fooliſhneſs; mercy, in ſinfulneſs. Who ſhall lett [i. e. who can hinder] thee to chuſe where and whom thou wilt (*g*)?"

XVII. Mr. Thomas Whittle, a clergyman of Eſſex, received the crown of martyrdom, in Jan. 1556.—"Chriſt," ſaith this good Church of England divine, "hath, by his paſſion, fully redeemed and ſaved us in his own perſon: howbeit, his elect muſt ſuffer with him and for him, to the world's end (*b*)." Elſewhere, he expreſſes himſelf thus: "Thoſe that are ingrafted and incorporated into Chriſt by faith, feeling the motion of God's holy

(*e*) Ibid. p. 347. (*f*) Ibid. p. 355. (*g*) Ibid. p. 353.
(*b*) Ibid. p. 520.

ſpirit

ſpirit as a pledge of their election and inheritance, exciting and ſtirring them not only to ſeek heavenly things, but alſo to hate vice and embrace virtue; will not only do theſe things, but alſo, if need require, will gladly take up their croſs, and follow their captain, their king, and their Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt, as his poor afflicted Church of England now doth, againſt that falſe and antichriſtian doctrine and religion now uſed (*i*)": i. e. againſt the doctrine and religion of Popery, then newly reſtored. The perſeverance of the elect is a conſequence, which neceſſarily follows from the above premiſes: take, however, one poſitive proof of this martyr's judgment as to the certainty of that ineſtimable truth. "Tho' the righteous fall, ſaith David, he ſhall not be caſt away, for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand. Oh, the bottomleſs mercy of God, towards us miſerable ſinners (*k*)!"

XVIII. Mr. Bartlet Green, a gentleman of the law, was converted at Oxford, by hearing the divinity-lectures of Peter Martyr. But, being young, and rich, and naturally of a gay turn, he was permitted, for a time, to relapſe into a worldly ſpirit, and loſe ſight of that glory and virtue to which he had been called by grace. God, however, who will never loſe a choſen veſſel, recalled the wanderer; and even enabled him to lay down his life for the ſake of Chriſt. And thus, as the pious Mr. Fxo remarks on this occaſion, "We ſee the fatherly kindneſs of our moſt gracious and merciful God, who never ſuffereth his elect children ſo to fall, as to lie ſtill [i. e. to the end] in ſecurity of ſin: but oftentimes quickens them up by ſome ſuch means as perhaps, they think leaſt of; as he did, here, this his ſtrayed ſheep (*l*)." He aſcended from Smithfield, to Heaven, in company with ſix othre

(*i*) Ibid. p. 521. (*k*) Ibid. p. 520. (*l*) Ibid. p. 52.

martyrs, who were burned in the ſame fire, January 27, 1556.

This valuable perſon touches on the doctrine of grace, with much judgment and propriety. "God" ſays Mr. Green, "is not bound to time, wit, or knowledge; but rather chuſeth the weak things of the world, in order to confound the ſtrong. Neither can men appoint bounds to God's mercy: for I will have compaſſion, ſaith he, on whom I will ſhew mercy. There is no reſpect of perſons with God, whether it be old or young, rich or poor, wiſe or fooliſh, fiſher or baſket-maker: God giveth knowledge of his truth, through his free-grace, to whom he liſt (*m*)." On one of his examinations before the Popiſh delegates, he offered to debate matters with them, in form; provided, they would firſt allow him to conſult "Calvin, and my lord of Canterbury's books (*n*)." Indeed, the writings of Calvin and Cranmer were deſervedly numbered among the moſt efficacious antidotes againſt the poiſon of Popery: and, the Arminian weed not having then over-ran the Proteſtant garden, Canterbury and Geneva were conſidered as much nearer neighbours than the new ſprung diſciples of Van Harmin are willing to confeſs.—I cannot take leave of Mr. Green, without citing the pious and not inelegant diſtich, which he ſeveral times repeated, both on his way to execution, and after his arrival at the ſtake:

Chriſte Deus, ſine te ſpes eſt mihi nulla ſalutis!
Te duce, vera ſequor; te duce, falſa nego.

XIX. Mr. William Tyms, a young clergyman, in deacon's orders, and curate of Hockley, was burned, in April, 1556. When he was firſt ſeized and brought before Gardiner, the Popiſh biſhop of Wincheſter, he was very meanly dreſſed (ſuch were

(*m*) Ibid. p. 523. (*n*) Ibid. p. 524.

the

the diſtreſſes of God's people, at that time of trouble, rebuke, and blaſphemy): he went not to the biſhop, ſays Mr. Fox, in a gown, but in a coat; and his ſtockings were of two colours. Gardiner inſulted him on the poorneſs of his habit: "Sarrah, are you a deacon? You are not apparelled like one." Mr. Tyms with great ſmartneſs replied, My lord, your own dreſs is no more like that of the apoſtles, than mine is like a deacon's.

This gentleman's agreement with the Proteſtant Church of England, in the points which relate to grace, may be collected from the following paſſages. Writing to a penitent backſlider, he ſays, "Since I heard of your earneſt repentance, I have very much rejoiced, and praiſed Almighty God for his mercy ſhewed to you, in that he has not left you to yourſelf, but, ſince your denial, hath ſhewed his mercy on you, by looking back upon you, as he did on Peter, and ſo cauſed you to repent:—Whereas, if God had left you to yourſelf, you had run forward, from one evil to another (*o*)." In the ſame letter, ſpeaking of ſuch falſe, nominal Proteſtants, as had fallen back into a profeſſion of Popery, he obſerves that ſuch would periſh, "Except they do repent and amend: which grace, that they may ſo do, I beſeech the eternal God, for his Chriſt's ſake, if it be his good will, to give them in his good time (*p*)."

He juſtly aſcribes the "perception" and "feeling" of "grace and peace" in the "heart," to "the mighty working of the Holy Ghoſt the comforter (*q*):" and ſays, "I am ſurely certified of this, that he, who hath begun a good work in you, ſhall go forth with it [i. e. go through with it, maintain and complete it] 'till the day of Jeſus Chriſt (*r*)." Adding: "The God of all grace, who called you to his eternal glory by Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall, his own

(*o*) Ibid. p. 574. (*p*) Ibid. (*q*) Ibid. p. 575. (*r*) Ibid. p. 576.

ſelf,

ſelf, after you have ſuffered a little affliction, make you perfect; ſhall ſettle, ſtrengthen, and ſtabliſh you."

XX. XXI. and XXII. Three perſons were burned at Beckles, in Suffolk, May 21, 1556. Their names were Thomas Spicer, John Denny, and Edmund Poole. One of the articles, for which they were condemned to death, ran in theſe words: "Item, They affirmed no mortal man to have in himſelf free-will to do good or evil (*s*)."

XXII.—LVI. The hiſtorian mentions 34 perſons beſide, who were perſecuted and expelled from the towns of Winſton and Mendleſham, in Suffolk, in the ſame month of May, 1556. Theſe, tho' it does not appear that they were all eventually brought to the ſtake, yet deſerve to be ranked with thoſe that were: inaſmuch as they ſuffered greatly, for the ſame bleſſed cauſe. Among the reaſons aſſigned by the martyrologiſt, for the hard uſage of theſe excellent people, is the following: "Fifthly, They denied man's free-will, and held that the Pope's church did err:—rebuking their [i. e. the Papiſts] falſe confidence in works, and their falſe truſt in man's righteouſneſs. Alſo, when any rebuked thoſe perſecuted, for going ſo openly, and talking ſo freely; their anſwer was, they acknowledged, confeſſed, and believed, and therefore muſt ſpeak: and that their tribulation was God's good will and providence,——and that, of very faithfulneſs and mercy, God had cauſed them to be troubled; ſo that not one hair of their heads ſhould periſh before the time, but all things ſhould work unto the beſt to them that love God: And, that Chriſt Jeſus was their life and only righteouſneſs; and that, only by faith in him, and for his ſake, all good things were freely given them; alſo forgiveneſs of ſins, and life everlaſting. Many of theſe perſe-

(*s*) Ibid. p. 590.

cuted

cuted were of great ſubſtance, and had poſſeſſions of their own (*t*)."

Now, I would aſk of Mr. Weſley and Co. 1. Were not theſe good old Church-of-England-people, Calviniſts? 2. Can the Church of Rome be, with any ſhew of reaſon, or with any ſhadow of truth, conſidered as well-affected to Calviniſm; ſeeing one grand motive, why ſhe perſecuted the primitive Proteſtants, was, becauſe they held the Calviniſtic doctrines? 3. Muſt it not be the very eſſence of ſlander and falſhood, to object againſt thoſe doctrines as productive of practical remiſſneſs: when the perſons, who maintained them with the greateſt zeal, took joyfully the ſpoiling of their goods, relinquiſhed their worldly poſſeſſions, rather than diſſemble any part of their faith, and went even to priſon and to death for the ſake of thoſe very principles? If any man ſeriouſly ſuppoſes, that Calviniſm relaxes the ſinews of evangelical or moral duty, let him only conſider the holineſs, the honeſty, and the heroiſm, of thoſe Calviniſtic ſaints, whoſe ſufferings and deaths redden the Proteſtant Calendar, and who reſiſted even unto blood, ſtriving againſt ſin.

LVII.—LXX. Eleven men, and two women, were burned, in one fire, at Stratford le Bow, near London, June 27, 1556. It ſhould ſeem, that they had temporized, or at leaſt concealed their faith, for ſome time after the return of Popery under queen Mary. My chief reaſon, for this ſuppoſition, is, becauſe their own words appear to imply ſomething of this kind. They ſpeak, as perſons who had once let go the profeſſion (though not the poſſeſſion) of grace: and aſcribe their recovery, not to their own free-wills, but to the unfailing faithfulneſs of God's unchangeable ſpirit. "Although," ſaid they, in their united declaration, "we have erred for a certain time, yet the root of faith was preſerved in

(*t*) Ibid. p. 590, 591.

us,

us, by the Holy Ghoſt, who hath reduced us into a full certainty of the ſame (*u*)."

LXXI. Mr. John Careleſs, of Coventry, bore a glorious atteſtation to the doctrines of the Church of England. Though he died in the King's-bench Priſon, and ſo, as Mr. Fox obſerves, "came not to the full martyrdom of his body; yet is he no leſs worthy to be counted in honour and place of Chriſt's martyrs, as well for that he was, for the ſame truth's ſake, a long while impriſoned, as alſo for his willing mind and zealous affection which he had to martyrdom, if the Lord had ſo determined (*w*)."

What this eminent ſervant of God believed, and delivered, concerning predeſtination, will appear from ſome remarkable paſſages, which paſſed at his examination before Dr. Martin, the Popiſh commiſſary. The commiſſary having told Mr. Careleſs, that he had authority to queſtion him on any articles of faith whatever; Careleſs anſwered,

"Then let your ſcribe ſet his pen to the paper: and you ſhall have it roundly, even as the truth is. I believe, that Almighty God, our moſt dear, loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodneſs, did elect in Chriſt.

"The Popiſh Doctor. Tuſh, what need all that long circumſtance? Write, I believe God elected: and make no more a-do.

"Careleſs. No, not ſo, Mr. Doctor. It is an high myſtery, and ought reverendly to be ſpoken of. And, if my words may not be written as I do utter them, I will not ſpeak at all.

"Popiſh Doctor. Go to, go to: write what he will. Here is more buſineſs than needeth.

"Careleſs. I believe, that Almighty God, our moſt dear, loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodneſs (through Jeſus Chriſt), did elect and appoint, in him, before the foundation of the earth

(*u*) Ibid. p. 594. (*w*) Ibid. p. 598.

was

was laid, a church or congregation; which he doth continually guide, and govern, by his grace and holy ſpirit; ſo that not one of them ſhall ever finally periſh (*x*)."

The crafty, fleering Papiſt then aſked Mr. Careleſs, "Why, who will deny this?" To which the honeſt, unſuſpecting priſoner made anſwer, "If your maſterſhip do allow it, and other learned men when they ſee it, I have my heart's deſire."

"Popiſh Doctor. It was told me alſo, that thou doſt affirm, that Chriſt did not die effectually for all men.

"Careleſs. Whatſoever hath been told you, it is not much material unto me. Let the tellers of ſuch tales come before my face, and I truſt to make them anſwer. For indeed, I do believe, that Chriſt did die effectually for all thoſe that do effectually repent and believe; and for no other (*y*)."

"Popiſh Doctor. Now, Sir, what is Trew's faith of predeſtination?

"Careleſs. Truly, I think, he doth believe as your maſterſhip and the reſt of the clergy [i. e. the Popiſh clergy] do believe of predeſtination: that we be elected, in reſpect of our good works; and ſo long elected as we do them, and no longer (*z*)."

Here obſerve, 1. That the Mr. Trew, now mentioned, was a profeſſing Proteſtant; and had, probably, been a member of that ſingle "Free-will congregation," ſpoken of by Mr. Strype, and noticed by me in the firſt Section of this treatiſe. 2. That thoſe few free-willers (and they were, in that age, exceeding few indeed) who made profeſſion (and 'twas little more than mere profeſſion) of Proteſtantiſm; did not vary from the Church of Rome, but cordially chimed in with her, like two tallies, ſo far as election and its connected articles were concerned. For, the upright Mr. Careleſs, whom

(*x*) Ibid, p. 598. (*y*) Ibid. p. 599. (*z*) Ibid.

neither

neither fear nor favour could bias from his integrity, expreſsly declared, in the hearing and to the face of his Popiſh judge, that Mr. Trew, the free-willer (who held a changeable election grounded on works) did therein exactly agree with the ſaid Popiſh judge, and the reſt of the Romiſh clergy. From whence, ſay I, Mr. John Weſley, Mr. Wat Sellon, and ſome others of that kidney, whom I could name, may ſee, to what party they belong. And although the ſaid Meſſieurs may not deem it altogether prudent and convenient, to own their relationſhip to the ſaid Popiſh party; yet, as many of mankind, as have unprejudiced eyes wherewith to ſee, and diſtinguiſhing heads wherewith to underſtand, cannot poſſibly fail to rank the Meſſieurs aforeſaid with the party aforementioned.

A few conciſe extracts, from ſome of Mr. Careleſs's letters, ſhall give farther demonſtration of that light and grace which God had beſtowed on this admirable man.

1. To Mr. John Bradford.

" John Bradford, thou man ſo ſpecially beloved of God, his ſingularly beloved and elect child; I pronounce and teſtify unto thee, in the word and name of the Lord Jehovah, that —— Chriſt hath cleanſed thee with his blood, and cloathed thee with his righteouſneſs; and hath made thee, in the ſight of God his Father, without ſpot or wrinkle: ſo that, when the fire doth its appointed office, thou ſhalt be received, as a ſweet burnt-ſacrifice, into Heaven; where thou ſhalt joyfully remain in God's preſence for ever, as the true inheritor of his everlaſting kingdom, unto which thou waſt undoubtedly predeſtinate and ordained by the Lord's infallible purpoſe and decree, before the foundation of the world was laid (*a*)."

(*a*) Ibid. p. 602.

2. " To

2. "To my moſt dear and faithful brethren in Newgate, condemned to die for the teſtimony of God's everlaſting truth.

"The everlaſting peace of God, in Jeſus Chriſt; the continual joy, ſtrength, and comfort of his moſt pure, holy, and mighty ſpirit; with the increaſe of faith, and lively feeling of his eternal mercy; be with you, my moſt dear and faithful loving brother Tyms, and with all the reſt of my dear hearts in the Lord, your faithful fellow-ſoldiers, and moſt conſtant companions in bonds. Thy will, O Lord, be effectually fulfilled! for it is only good, and turneth all things to the beſt for ſuch as thou, in thy mercy, haſt choſen. He [i. e. Chriſt] hath given you, for everlaſting poſſeſſion, all his holineſs, righteouſneſs, and juſtification: yea, and the Holy Ghoſt into your hearts, wherewith ye are ſurely ſealed to the day of redemption, to certify you of your eternal election, and that ye are his true adopted ſons (*b*)."

3. "To my dear and faithful brother, William Tyms, priſoner in Newgate.

"Faithful is God, and true of his promiſes, who hath ſaid, that he will never ſuffer his choſen children to be tempted above their ſtrength. Great cauſe have you to be of good comfort. I ſee, in you, as lively a token of God's everlaſting love and favour in Jeſus Chriſt, as ever I perceived in any man. Chriſt is made unto us holineſs, righteouſneſs, and juſtification. He hath cloathed us with all his merits, mercies, and moſt ſweet ſufferings; and hath taken to him all our miſery, wretchedneſs, ſin, and infirmity. So that if any [i. e. any of God's choſen children] ſhould now be condemned for the ſame, it muſt needs be Jeſus Chriſt, who hath taken them upon him. But indeed he hath made ſatisfaction for them to the uttermoſt jot.—So that, for his ſake, they ſhall never be imputed

(*b*) Ibid. p. 602, 603.

to

to us, if they were a thouſand times ſo many more as they be.

" Satan's fiery darts can do you no harm, but rather do you good ſervice: to caſt you down under the mighty hand of God, that he may take you up by his only grace and power, and ſo you may render him all the glory by Jeſus Chriſt: which thing the enemy can in no wiſe abide: therefore he ſhooteth off his other piece moſt peſtilent, to provoke you to put ſome part of your truſt and confidence in yourſelf, and in your own holineſs and righteouſneſs; that you might, that way, rob God of his glory, and Chriſt of the honour and dignity of his death. But, bleſſed be the Lord God, you have alſo a full ſtrong bulwark to beat back this peſtiferous pellet alſo: even the pure law of God, which proveth the beſt of us all [to be] damnable ſinners in the ſight of God, if he would enter into judgment with us according to the ſeverity of the ſame [i. e. according to the unabating ſeverity and perfection of his law]; and that our beſt works are polluted and defiled, in ſuch ſort as the prophet deſcribeth them: with which manner of ſpeaking, our free-will phariſees are much offended: for it felleth all man's righteouſneſs to the ground (I had like to have ſaid, to the bottom of hell); and extolleth only the righteouſneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, which is allowed before God, and is freely given to all thoſe that firmly believe; as bleſſed be God, you do. (God) comfort, ſtrengthen, and defend you, with his grace and mighty operation of his holy ſpirit, as he hath hitherto done: that you, having a moſt glorious victory over the ſubtile ſerpent and all his wicked ſeed, may alſo receive the crown of glory and immortality, prepared for you before the foundations of the world were laid, and is ſo ſurely kept for you in the hands of him whoſe promiſe is unfallible, that

the

the devil, ſin, death, or hell, ſhall never be able to deprive you of the ſame (*c*)."

4. To my good Siſter, M. C.

"Though God, for a time, permit Satan to take his pleaſure on me, as he did upon Job; yet, I doubt not, but, in the end, all ſhall turn to my profit, through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. To whoſe moſt merciful defence I commit you, dear ſiſter, with all the reſt of the Lord's elect (*d*)."

5. To my dear Brother, T. V.

"If his [i. e. if God's] love towards you ſtood in the reſpect of your own merit and worthineſs, you might well mourn, lament, and complain: yea, you had good cauſe to doubt, fear, and miſtruſt. But ſeeing he loveth you only for and in Jeſus Chriſt, who is your whole righteouſneſs and redemption; baniſh from you all fear, miſtruſt, and infidelity. And know, that, as long as Chriſt doth continue God's Son, ſo long muſt the love of the Father continue towards you immutable, and his good will unchangeable, and cannot be altered through any of your infirmities (*e*)."

6. "To my dear Brother, Henry Adlington, priſoner in the Lollard's Tower.

"This preſent day, I received a letter from you; at the reading whereof, my brethren and I were not a little comforted, to ſee your conſcience ſo quieted in Chriſt, and your continuance ſo ſtedfaſt in him. Which things be the ſpecial gifts of God: not given to every man, but to you his dear, darling elect and choſen in Chriſt. Bleſſed be God for you, and ſuch as you be, who have played the part of wiſe builders. You have digged down, paſſed the ſand of your own natural ſtrength, and beneath the earth of your own worldly wiſdom: and are now come to the hard ſtone and immoveable rock,

(*c*) Ibid. p. 605. (*d*) Ibid. p. 606. (*e*) Ibid.

Chriſt, who is your only keeper; and upon him alone have you builded your faith, moſt firmly, without doubting, miſtruſt, or wavering. Therefore neither the ſtorms nor tempeſts, winds nor weathers, that Satan and all his wily workmen can bring againſt you, with the very gates of hell to help them, ſhall ever be able once to move your houſe; much leſs, to overthrow it: for the Lord God himſelf, and no man, is the builder thereof, and hath promiſed to preſerve and keep the ſame forever (*f*)."

7. "To my moſt dear and faithful Brother, T. V.

"The Lord thy God, in whom thou doſt put all thy truſt; for his dear Son's ſake, in whom thou doſt alſo undoubtedly believe; hath freely forgiven thee all thy ſins, clearly releaſed all thy iniquities, and fully pardoned all thy offences, be they never ſo many, ſo grievous, or ſo great; and will never remember them any more, to condemnation. As truly as he liveth, he will not have thee die the death: but hath utterly determined, purpoſed, and eternally decreed, that thou ſhalt live with him for ever. Thy ſore ſhall be healed, and thy wounds bound up, even of himſelf, for his own name's ſake. He doth not, nor will he, look upon thy ſins, in thee; but he reſpecteth and beholdeth thee in Chriſt: into whom thou art lively grafted by faith in his blood, and in whom thou art moſt aſſuredly elected and choſen to be a ſweet veſſel of his mercy and ſalvation, and waſt thereto predeſtinate in him, before the foundation of the world was laid. In teſtimony and earneſt whereof, he hath given thee his good and holy ſpirit, who worketh in thee faith, love, and unfeigned repentance, with other godly virtues, contrary to the corruption of thy nature (*g*)."

8. "To E. K.

"Foraſmuch as Chriſt hath choſen us out of the world, to ſerve God in ſpirit and verity; let us be

(*f*) Ibid. p. 608, 609. (*g*) Ibid. p. 610.

well

well aſſured, the world will hate us and perſecute us, as it hath done our Lord and Maſter (*b*)."

9. "To Mrs. A. G.

"His glory, above all other things, we, that are his choſen children, ought to ſeek; yea, even with the loſs of our own lives: being yet well aſſured, that the ſame ſhall not be ſhortened, one minute of an hour, before the time which God hath appointed. Caſt, therefore, dear ſiſter, all your care upon the Lord, who careth for you. And mighty is his love and mercy towards you. With his grace he will defend you; and with his holy ſpirit will he evermore guide you, wherewith he hath ſurely ſealed you unto the day of redemption. He hath alſo given you the ſame, in earneſt for the recovery of the purchaſed poſſeſſion which he hath prepared for you before the foundation of the world (*i*)."

10. To the ſaid Mrs. A. G.

"Although the perilous days be come, whereof Chriſt propheſied, that if it were poſſible, the very elect ſhould be deceived; yet let the true faithful Chriſtians rejoice and be glad, knowing that the Lord himſelf is their keeper, who will not ſuffer one hair of their heads to periſh, without his Almighty good will and pleaſure. Neither will he ſuffer them to be further tempted, than he will give them ſtrength to bear; but will, in the midſt of their temptations, make a way for them to eſcape out: ſo good and gracious a God is he to all his choſen children. And though, ſometimes, he do let his elect ſtumble and fall; yet, no doubt, he will raiſe them up again; to the further encreaſe of their comfort, and to the ſetting forth of his glory and praiſe (*k*)."

Mr. Careleſs lay in priſon, on account of his religious principles, two whole years: firſt, in Coventry jail; and, finally, in the King's Bench, Lon-

(*b*) Ibid. p. 611. (*i*) Ibid. p. 612. (*k*) Ibid.

don. So ardent was his zeal for the reformed Church of England, that the ſun-burnt hart does not long more intenſely after the waters of the brook, than this ſeraphic ſaint panted for the flames. Dying, however, in the laſt-mentioned priſon, the Papiſts, diſappointed of burning him, buried his remains in a dunghill (*l*).

LXXII.

(*l*) Great and exemplary was the Chriſtian zeal, with which Mr. Careleſs oppoſed the free-will men of that age. Some remarkable paſſages, from Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, will both prove this, and illuſtrate the converſation (already related) which paſſed between Careleſs and his Popiſh examiner, Dr. Martin.

"Careleſs alſo had much conference with theſe men" [i. e. with the free-willers]. "Priſoners with him in the King's Bench; of whoſe contentiouſneſs he complained in a letter to Philpot. There is extant an anſwer of Philpot to Careleſs, about them: where he writes, that he was ſorry to hear of the great trouble which theſe ſchiſmatics did daily put him to; that he ſhould commit the ſucceſs of his labours (in rightly informing theſe men) to God; and not to ceaſe, with charity, to do his endeavour in defence of the truth againſt theſe arrogant, and ſelf-willed, blinded ſcatterers; that theſe ſects were neceſſary for the trial of our faith, and for the beautifying thereof; that he ſhould ſhew as much modeſty and humility as poſſible, and then, others, ſeeing his modeſt converſations among theſe contentious babblers, would glorify God in the truth of him, and the more abhor them; that he ſhould be content that Shimei do rail at David, and caſt ſtones awhile, &c." Such was arch-deacon Philpot's opinion of the free-will mongers: whom he termed ſchiſmatics; arrogant, ſelf-willed, blinded ſcatterers, ſects, contentious babblers; and railing Shimeis. Yet did not the arch-deacon's zeal out-run his charity: for his letter concludes with a moſt candid and pious exhortation, in which he earneſtly intreated the brethren "to kiſs one another with the kiſs of unfeigned love, and to take one another by the hand chearfully, and to ſay, let us take up our croſs together, and go to the Mount of Calvary."

Mr. Strype remarks, that all the terrors of the Popiſh perſecution could not keep the free-will men within the bonds of peace and quietneſs. For, in 1556, Mr. Careleſs having "wrote a confeſſion of his faith, ſome part whereof favoured abſolute predeſtination againſt free-will; he ſent it (from the King's Bench, where he lay) to the Proteſtant priſoners in Newgate: whereunto [i. e. to which confeſſion of faith] they generally ſubſcribed; and particularly twelve, who were, a little before, condemned to die. Hart [who was a noted preacher among the free-willers] having gotten a copy of this [i. e. of Mr. Careleſs's predeſtinarian] confeſſion, on the back-ſide thereof wrote his confeſſion in oppoſition thereunto. When they

LXXII. Mrs. Joyce Lewis, genteely born and elegantly brought up, was martyred at Litchfield. A little before ſhe ſuffered, ſhe ſaid to ſome friends who came to take leave of her, "When I enjoy the ſhinings of my Saviour's countenance, the near view of death ceaſes, in great meaſure, to be terrible." Mr. Fox adds, that ſhe took occaſion, at the ſame time, to "reaſon moſt comfortably, out of God's word, concerning God's election and reprobation (*m*)." Early in the morning of the day on which ſhe was executed, this excellent woman was tempted to doubt of her own election and redemption. It ſhould ſeem, that, for ſeveral hours, ſhe walked in ſpiritual darkneſs, even darkneſs which might be felt. Unbelief was permitted to ſuggeſt, how do I know that I was choſen to eternal life, and that Chriſt died for me (*n*)? Some religious perſons, who were about her, perceiving her diſtreſs, reminded her, "That her vocation and calling to the knowledge of God's word, was a manifeſt token of God's love towards her: which might be farther inferred, from that love to God, that deſire to pleaſe him, and that deſire to be juſtified by Chriſt, which the Holy Spirit had wrought in her heart.—By theſe, and like perſuaſions, and eſpecially by the comfortable promiſes of Chriſt alledged from

they in Newgate had ſubſcribed Careleſs's confeſſion, this Hart propounded his unto them; and he, with one Kemp and Gybſon, would have perſuaded them from the former to the latter, but prevailed not. One Chamberlain alſo [another free-will teacher] wrote againſt it [againſt Mr. Careleſs's confeſſion].

"This paper of Careleſs's confeſſion, with the anſwer wrote on the back-ſide by Hart, fell, by ſome accident, into the hands of Dr. Martin, a great Papiſt; who took occaſion, hence, to ſcoff at the profeſſors of the Goſpel, becauſe of theſe diviſions and various opinions among them. But Careleſs, before the ſaid Martin, diſowned Hart, and ſaid, that he [viz. Hart] had ſeduced and beguiled many a ſimple ſoul with his foul Pelagian opinions, both in the days of king Edward, and ſince his departure."——Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 351, 352.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 704. (*n*) Ibid.

Scripture, the enemy fled, and ſhe was comforted in Chriſt (*o*)."

LXXIII. Mr. Ralph Allerton was burned at Iſlington. This good man, quoting that paſſage in the Pſalms, Though the righteous fall, &c. juſtly obſerves upon it, "Whereby we perceive God's election to be moſt ſure (*p*)."

—LXXVI. With Mr. Allerton were executed three others, viz. James Auſtoo, and Margaret, his wife; and Richard Roth. Of the two former Mr. Fox ſays, that "they were as ſound in matters of faith, and anſwered as truly, as ever any did: eſpecially the wife; to whom the Lord had given the greater knowledge, and more fervency of ſpirit." And that Mr. Roth was as "ſound in matters of faith," as either of them; is plain, from the anſwer he returned to biſhop Bonner; who aſking him, "what he thought of his fellow priſoner, Ralph Allerton?" Roth replied, "I think him to be one of the elect children of God (*q*)."

LXXVII. Mr. John Rough, a miniſter, who had been exerciſed with ſeveral very remarkable providences; at length ſealed the truth with his death, in the latter end of 1557. Writing to ſome religious friends, he thus expreſſes the benevolence of his wiſhes, and the purity of his faith: "The comfort of the Holy Ghoſt make you able to give conſolation to others, in theſe dangerous days, when Satan is let looſe, but to the trial only of the choſen, when it pleaſeth our God to ſift his wheat from the chaff (*r*)." And, in another letter, addreſſed to his former congregation, and written two days before his martyrdom, he obſerves, that "God hath in all ages tried his elect (*s*)."

LXXVIII. The celebrated Mr. Cuthbert Symſon, who underwent ſuch variety of torments ſo

(*o*) Ibid. p. 709. (*p*) Ibid. p. 710. (*q*) Ibid. p. 712.
(*r*) Ibid. p. 724. (*s*) Ibid. p. 725.

meekly,

meekly, that Bonner himſelf pronounced him the moſt patient priſoner he ever dealt with; and who at laſt ended his holy life in the flames, A. D. 1558; has tranſmitted, to poſterity, that grand axiom, through the unfeigned belief of which, he was enabled, without murmuring, to "ſtand as a beaten anvil to the ſtroke." And what axiom was it? That in which the rays of Calviniſm are concentred, and contracted to a point. Read it in the martyr's own words: "There is nothing that cometh unto us by chance or fortune; but by our heavenly Father's providence (*t*)."

I may truly ſay, with the apoſtle, time would fail me to tell of that "noble army of martyrs," and of ſuffering confeſſors, who, through faith, quenched the violence of fire, and out of weakneſs were made ſtrong: who were tortured, not accepting deliverance; that they might obtain a better reſurrection. And others had trial of cruel mockings, and ſcourgings; yea, moreover, of bonds and impriſonment: being deſtitute, afflicted, tormented. A competency of witneſſes has been produced, ſufficient to ſhew, that our Proteſtant martyrs were doctrinal Calviniſts. I cannot help repeating an obſervation already made, viz. that I am widely miſtaken indeed, if the gentlemen on the Arminian ſide of the queſtion are able to bring a ſingle inſtance of any one Pelagian, or free-will-man, who laid down his life in defence of the reformation, during the whole reign of queen Mary. I can at leaſt ſay, that I, for my part, have not hitherto met with any ſuch example. If Mr. Weſley, or Mr. any-body elſe, can point out ſo much as one; it will, as before noted, be for the honour of Pelagianiſm, to let the world know it.

I have dwelt, perhaps, too long, already, on the ſubject now in hand. Yet, I cannot diſmiſs thoſe eminent worthies, whoſe teſtimonies adorn this

(*t*) Ibid. p. 728.

Section, without adding four more to the number. The reader will not wonder at my introducing them, when he perceives the celebrated names of Mr. John Bradford, chaplain to biſhop Ridley, and prebendary of St. Paul's, London; Mr. John Philpot, arch-deacon of Wincheſter; Mr. Richard Woodman, and Mr. John Clement: which two laſt, though not in orders, were men famous in their generation, men of renown, for holineſs of converſation, livelineſs of grace, and clearneſs of evangelical light. Their atteſtations ſhall occupy the Section that follows.

SECTION XVII.

The Judgment of the Martyrs concluded.

MR. John Bradford was one of the moſt valuable men that ever adorned God's viſible Church below. The impartial and judicious Mr. Strype ſtyles him, one of the "four prime pillars of the reformed Church of England (*u*);" and adds, that he was a perſon "of great learning, elocution, ſweetneſs of temper, and profoundneſs of devotion towards God. Of whoſe worth, the Papiſts themſelves were ſo ſenſible, that they took more pains to bring him off from the profeſſion of religion, than any other. But he, knowing the truth and goodneſs of his cauſe, remained ſtedfaſt and immoveable. While he was in priſon, he ſpent his time in preaching twice every Sunday, in writing many letters and

(*u*) "Bradford and Latimer, Cranmer and Ridley, four prime pillars of the reformed Church of England; whom this bloody year [1555] executed in the flames."

Strype's Eccleſ. Mem. vol. iii. p. 254.

diſcourſes,

diſcourſes, praying, reading, conferring, diſputing: ſleeping but four hours in the night (*w*)."

It had been at the importunate inſtigation of Martin Bucer, that Mr. Bradford entered into holy orders. On Bucer's expreſſing his earneſt deſire of ſeeing him in the miniſtry, Bradford declined the propoſal; from a ſuppoſition, that he had not ſufficient talents, to ſpeak in the name of God. Bucer's anſwer was memorable: If you cannot feed the people with fine manchet, feed them with ſuch barley-bread as God may give you. In the end, Bucer's expoſtulations prevailed: and Mr. Bradford received both his ordination and his preferments from the apoſtolic biſhop Ridley. The brighteſt abilities are uſually rooted in ſelf-diffidence. Mr. Bradford's powers, as an orator; and the bleſſing, with which his labours were attended, as a miniſter of Chriſt; were equal to the fear and trembling, with which he entered on the arduous employ. Of his uſefulneſs in king Edward's reign, biſhop Ridley wrote as follows: "He [i. e. Bradford] is a man by whom, as I am aſſuredly informed, God hath and doth work wonders, in ſetting forth his word." And, on another occaſion, Ridley ſaid, of Bradford, "In my conſcience I judge him more worthy to be a biſhop, than many of us, that are biſhops already, are of being pariſh prieſts (*x*)." But his courſe, tho' illuſtrious, was ſhort. Queen Mary made him paſs through the fire to Heaven, in June, 1555 (*y*).—Let

(*w*) Strype, Ibid. p. 230. (*x*) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 8.

(*y*) At the ſame ſtake with Mr. Bradford, was burned one John Leaf, a tallow-chandler's apprentice, not twenty years of age. This elect youth had been converted in king Edward's reign, under the miniſtry of Mr. Rogers, the proto-martyr of the Church of England. During Leaf's impriſonment for the goſpel, Old Bonner ſent him two papers, viz. a recantation of Proteſtantiſm, which if he would ſign, his life was to be ſpared: and a ſummary of the Proteſtant confeſſion, by the ſigning of which, his doom was to be finally fixed. The young martyr, on this alternative being offered him, abſolutely refuſed to have any thing to do with the recantation. Not

Let us now ſee, whether this "prime pillar of the Church of England" was, or was not, a Calviniſt.

On his firſt appearance before Gardiner, the Popiſh biſhop of Wincheſter, we are informed, that Gardiner "began a long proceſs, concerning the falſe doctrine wherewith the people were deceived in the days of king Edward: and ſo turned the end of his talk to Bradford; ſaying, how ſayeſt thou? Bradford anſwered, my lord, the doctrine taught in king Edward's days was God's pure religion: the which as I then believed, ſo do I now more believe it than ever I did. And therein I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it, by God's grace, even as he will, to the world, than I was when I firſt came into priſon (z)." This declaration, alone, might ſuffice to convince any perſon, who is acquainted with the religious hiſtory of Edward VI's reign, that Bradford was, to all intents and purpoſes, a doctrinal Calviniſt. If more particular proofs be required, take the following, as a ſpecimen of the reſt.

1. In a letter to Mrs. Warcup, and others of his evangelical friends, this eminent predeſtinarian thus writes: "The ſouls under the altar look for us to fill up their number. Happy are we, if God have ſo appointed us. Howſoever it be, dearly beloved, caſt yourſelves wholly upon the Lord; with whom all the hairs of your head are numbered, ſo that not one of them ſhall periſh. Will we, nill we, we muſt drink God's cup, if he have appointed it for us (a)."

Not being able to write, he pricked his hand with a pin; and ſprinkling the Proteſtant confeſſion of faith with his blood, ordered Bonner's meſſenger to ſhew it his maſter, as a proof of his determined reſolution to lay down his life for the truth.—What an inſtance of heroic zeal! How unlike that worldly, that luke-warm ſpirit of religious indifference, which now ſeems to have laid Proteſtants of every denomination aſleep.

(z) Fox's Acts and Mon. vol. iii. p. 236.

(a) Ibid. p. 268.

2. "To

2. "To Sir James Hales, Knight.

"The children of God think, oftentimes, that God hath forgotten them: and therefore they cry, Hide not thy face from me; leave me not, O Lord. Whereas in very truth, it is not ſo, but to their preſent ſenſe. And therefore David ſaid, I ſaid in my agony, I was clean caſt away from thy face. But was it ſo? Nay, verily. Read his Pſalms, and you ſhall ſee. So writeth he alſo, in other places, very often; eſpecially, in the perſon of Chriſt: as when he ſaith, My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me? Where [i. e. whereas] indeed God had not left him; but that it was ſo to his ſenſe: and that this Pſalm telleth us full well.—The ſame we read, in the prophet Eſay, chap. xl. where he reproveth Iſrael ſaying, God hath forgotten them: fear not, &c. For a little while I have forgotten thee, but with great compaſſion will I gather thee. For a moment, in mine anger, I hid my face from thee, for a little ſeaſon: but in everlaſting mercy have I had compaſſion on thee, ſaith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is unto me as the waters of Noah: for as I have ſworn, that the waters of Noah ſhould no more go over the earth; ſo have I ſworn, that I would not be angry with thee, nor rebuke thee. For, the mountains ſhall remove, and hills fall down: but my mercy ſhall not depart from thee, neither ſhall the covenant of my peace fall away, ſaith the Lord that hath compaſſion on thee.——Be certain, be certain, good maſter Hales, that all the hairs of your head your dear Father hath numbered. Your name is written in the book of life. Therefore upon God caſt all your care, who will comfort you with his eternal conſolations (*b*)."

3. "To Mrs. M. H. a godly gentlewoman; comforting her in that common heavineſs and godly

(*b*) Ibid. p. 269, 270.

ſorro-

ſorrow, which the feeling and ſenſe of ſin worketh in God's children.

"As Satan laboureth to looſen our faith, ſo muſt we labour to faſten it, by thinking on the promiſes and covenant of God in Chriſt's blood: namely, that God is our God, with all that ever he hath. Which covenant dependeth and hangeth on God's own goodneſs, mercy, and truth, only; and not on our obedience, or worthineſs, in any point: for then ſhould we never be certain. Indeed, God requireth of us obedience, and (*c*) worthineſs: but not that thereby we might be his children, and he our Father; but becauſe he is our Father and we his children through his own goodneſs in Chriſt, therefore requireth he faith and obedience. Now, if we want this obedience and worthineſs which he requireth, ſhould we doubt whether he be our Father? Nay. That were to make our obedience and worthineſs the cauſe, and ſo put Chriſt out of place, for whoſe ſake God is our Father. But rather, becauſe he is our Father, and we feel ourſelves to want ſuch things as he requireth, we ſhould be ſtirred up to a ſhamefacedneſs and bluſhing, becauſe we are not as we ſhould be. And thereupon ſhould we take occaſion to go to our Father, in prayer, on this manner: Dear Father, thou, of thy own mercy in Jeſus Chriſt, haſt choſen me to be thy child: and therefore thou wouldſt that I ſhould be brought into thy church and faithful company of thy children, wherein thou haſt kept me hitherto; thy name therefore be praiſed. Now, I ſee myſelf to want faith, hope, love, &c. which thy children have, and

(*c*) The word worthineſs, here uſed by Mr. Bradford, does not, in this connection, ſignify merit, or deſert; but a ſuitableneſs of practice, becoming of, correſpondent to, and ſuch as may be expected to follow upon, a profeſſion of converſion. And, in this ſenſe, the word very frequently occurs in our old writers. Juſt as the adjectives Actus and Dignus are often uſed by writers more antient ſtill.

thou

thou requireſt of me. Wherethrough the Devil would have me to doubt, yea, utterly to deſpair of thy Fatherly goodneſs, favour, and mercy. Therefore I come to thee, as to my merciful Father, through thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt: and pray thee to help me, good Lord. Help me, and give me faith, hope, love, &c. and grant that thy Holy Spirit may be with me forever, and more and more, to aſſure me that thou art my Father; that this merciful covenant (which thou madeſt with me, in reſpect of thy grace, in Chriſt and for Chriſt, and not in reſpect of any my worthineſs) is always to me. On this ſort, I ſay, you muſt pray, and uſe your cogitations, when Satan would have you to doubt of your ſalvation.

" Might not [God] have made you blind, deaf, lame, frantic, &c.? Might he not have made you a Jew, a Turk, a Papiſt, &c.? And why hath he not done ſo? Verily, becauſe he loved you. And why did he love you? What was there in you, to move him to love you? Surely, nothing moved him to love you, and therefore to make you, and ſo hitherto to keep you, but his own goodneſs in Chriſt. Now then, in that his goodneſs in Chriſt ſtill remaineth as much as it was, that is, even as great as himſelf, for it cannot be leſſened; how ſhould it be, but that he is your God and Father? Believe this, believe this, my good ſiſter: for God is no changeling. Them, whom he loveth, he loveth to the end (*d*)."

4. To another religious friend, who was in darkneſs and diſtreſs of ſoul, Mr. Bradford wrote as follows: " His [i. e. God's] calling and gifts be ſuch, that he can never repent him of them. When he loveth, he loveth to the end. None of his choſen can periſh.—If he had not choſen you (as, moſt certainly, he hath), he would not have ſo called you, he would not have ſo juſtified you, he would never have ſo glorified you

(*d*) Ibid. p. 271, 272.

with

with his gracious gifts: he would never have ſo exerciſed your faith with temptations, as he hath and doth, if he had not choſen you. If he hath choſen you, as doubtleſs he hath, in Chriſt; then neither can you, nor ever ſhall you, periſh. For, if you fail, he putteth under his hand: you ſhall not lie ſtill [in ſin]. So careful is Chriſt your keeper, over you. Never was mother ſo mindful over her child, as he is over you. And hath not he always been ſo?——Think you God to be mutable? Is he a changeling? Doth not he love to the end, them whom he loveth? Are not his gifts and calling ſuch, that he cannot repent him of them? for elſe were he no God. If you ſhould periſh, then wanted he power: for, I am certain, his will toward you is not to be doubted of. Hath not the ſpirit, which is the ſpirit of truth, told you ſo; and will you now hearken with Eve, to the lying ſpirit, which would have you (not to deſpair; no, he goeth more craftily to work: but) to doubt and ſtand in a mammering? And ſo ſhould you never truly love God, but ſerve him of a ſervile fear, leſt he ſhould caſt you off for your unworthineſs and unthankfulneſs: as though your thankfulneſs, or worthineſs, were any cauſe with God, why he hath choſen you, or will finally keep you!—Your thankfulneſs and worthineſs are fruits and effects of your election: they are no cauſes.—You have a ſhepherd, who never ſlumbereth nor ſleepeth. No man, nor Devil, can pull you out of his hands.——Therefore, inaſmuch as you are indeed the child of God, elect in Chriſt before the beginning of all times; inaſmuch as you are given into the cuſtody of Chriſt, as one of God's moſt precious jewels; inaſmuch as Chriſt is faithful, and hitherto hath all power, ſo that you ſhall never periſh; I beſeech you, I pray you, I deſire you, I crave at your hands, with all my very heart, I aſk of you with hand, pen, tongue, and mind, in Chriſt, through Chriſt, for Chriſt, for his name, blood,

blood, mercies, power, and truth's ſake, that you admit no doubting of God's final mercies towards you, howſoever you feel yourſelf (*e*)."

5. To Mr. John Hall, and his wife; priſoners in Newgate for the goſpel.

"He [i. e. your heavenly Father] hath brought you where ye be. And tho' your reaſon and wit will tell you it is by chance, or fortune, or otherwiſe; yet know for certain, that whatſoever was the mean, God your Father was the worker hereof (*f*)."

6. To Mr. Richard Hopkins, ſheriff of Coventry; and priſoner in the Fleet, for the faithful and conſtant confeſſing of God's holy goſpel.

"The Apoſtle ſaith, not many noble, not many rich, not many wiſe in the world, hath the Lord God choſen. Oh then, what cauſe have you to rejoice, that, amongſt the not many, he hath choſen you to be one (*g*)!"

7. To my good ſiſter, Mrs. Eliz. Brown.

"Patience and perſeverance be the proper notes, whereby God's children are known from counterfeits. They, who perſevere not, were always but hypocrites. Many make godly beginnings; yea, their progreſs ſeemeth marvellous: but, yet, after, in the end they fail. Theſe were never of us, ſaith St. John: for, if they had been of us, they would have continued to the very end (*h*)."

8. "To a godly gentlewoman troubled and afflicted by her friends, for not coming to maſs.

"If your croſs be to me a comfort or token of your election, and a confirmation of God's continual favour; how much more ought it to be ſo unto you (*i*)?"

9. "This is the difference betwixt God's children, who are regenerate, and elect before all times in

(*e*) Ibid. p. 273, 274. (*f*) Ibid. p. 275. (*g*) Ibid. p. 282.
(*h*) Ibid. p. 283. (*i*) Ibid. p. 285.

Chriſt;

Chriſt; and the wicked always: that the elect lie not ſtill continually [i. e. finally] in their ſin, as do the wicked; but at length do return again, by reaſon of God's ſeed, which is in them, hid as a ſparkle of fire in the aſhes: as we may ſee in Peter, David, Paul, Mary Magdalen, and others. For theſe, I mean God's children, God hath made all things in Chriſt Jeſus, that they ſhould be his inheritance and ſpouſes (*k*)."

10. "To certain of his friends, N. S. and R. C.

"I believe, that man, made after the image of God, did fall from that bleſſed ſtate, to the condemnation of himſelf and all his poſterity. I believe, that Chriſt, for man being thus fallen, did oppoſe himſelf to the juſtice of God, a mediator: paying the ranſom and price of redemption for Adam, and his whole poſterity that refuſe it not finally (*l*)."—In the judgment, therefore, of Mr. Bradford, Chriſt did not ranſom and redeem thoſe of Adam's poſterity, who finally refuſe the redemption which he wrought: or, in other words, according to this divine, Chriſt did not die for any who do not eventually believe in him for ſalvation: which is particular redemption, with a witneſs. Chriſt, ſays the above paragraph, "paid the price of redemption" for as many of Adam's whole poſterity, as finally accept of it by faith: conſequently, for thoſe who finally refuſe it (and theſe, 'tis to be feared, are more than a few) the price of redemption was not paid. And I ſhould much wonder if it had: ſince what good end would it have anſwered?—Mr. Bradford goes on: "I believe, that all who believe in Chriſt, I ſpeak of ſuch as be of years of diſcretion, are partakers of Chriſt and all his merits. I believe, that faith, and to believe in Chriſt (I ſpeak not now of [that] faith which men have by reaſon of miracles, John ii. 11. Acts viii.

(*k*) Ibid. p. 289. (*l*) Ibid. p. 291.

or

or by reaſon of earthly commodity, Matth. xiii. cuſtom, or authority of man; which is commonly ſeen; the hearts of them, that ſo believe, being not right and ſimple before God: but I ſpeak of that faith, which is indeed the true faith, the juſtifying and regenerating faith) I believe, I ſay, that this faith and belief in Chriſt is the work and gift of God; given to none other than to thoſe which be the children of God: that is, to thoſe whom God the Father, before the beginning of the world, hath predeſtinate in Chriſt unto eternal life (*m*)."—Mr. Bradford's reaſoning ſtands thus: Chriſt died not for thoſe who finally refuſe his redemption; but for thoſe who are juſtified and regenerated by faith in him: which juſtifying and regenerating faith is the gift of God, given to thoſe perſons only whom he predeſtined to eternal life before the world began. Thus it appears, that there is nothing diſcouraging, in the doctrines of eternal election and particular redemption. Not in election; becauſe God gives faith to his people, as a token and pledge of their ſure intereſt in his covenant-favour: and as to thoſe who may, at preſent, be ſeemingly deſtitute of faith, we know not how ſoon God may give it them, or ſtir them up to ſeek it.—Neither does limited redemption tend to the diſcouragement of any who ſeriouſly deſire to be ſaved in God's own way, i. e. in the Bible-way of faith, repentance, and new obedience: foraſmuch as Chriſt "paid the ranſom and price of redemption, for Adam's whole poſterity who do not finally refuſe it." Thus ſcripturally and diſcreetly does the admirable Mr. Bradford ſtate and aſſert theſe illuſtrious doctrines of the goſpel.

Another remark of his, deſerves well to be conſidered: "For the certainty of this faith [i. e. of the juſtifying faith] ſearch your hearts. If you have it, praiſe the Lord; for you are happy, and therefore

(*m*) Ibid.

cannot finally periſh: for then happineſs were not happineſs, if it could be loſt. When you fall, the Lord will put under his hand, that you ſhall not lie ſtill.—But, if ye feel not this faith, then know, that predeſtination is too high a matter for you to be diſputers of, until you have been ſcholars in the ſchool-houſe of repentance and juſtification; which is the grammar-ſchool, wherein we muſt be converſant and learned, before we go to the Univerſity of God's moſt holy predeſtination and providence (*n*). —Thus do I wade in predeſtination: in ſuch ſort as God hath patefied and opened it. Tho', in God, it be the firſt; yet, to us, it is the laſt opened. And therefore I begin with creation, from thence I come to redemption, ſo to juſtification, and ſo to election. On this ſort, I am ſure that warily and wiſely a man may walk in it eaſily, by the light of God's ſpirit, in and by his word; ſeeing this faith not to be given to all men, 2 Theſſ. iii. but to ſuch as are born of God, predeſtinate before the world was made, after [i. e. according to] the purpoſe and good will of God. Which will we may not call in diſputation, but, in trembling and fear, ſubmit ourſelves to it, as to that which can will none otherwiſe than that which is holy, right, and good, how far ſoever otherwiſe it may ſeem to the judgment of reaſon: which" [i. e. the judgment of reaſon, ſo far as it oppoſes the doctrine of predeſtination,] " muſt needs be beaten down to be more careful for God's glory, than for man's ſalvation, which hangeth only thereon, as all God's children full well ſee (*o*)."

11. " To Sir Thomas Hall, and Father Traves, of Blackley.

" Chriſt alone is our full, ſufficient Saviour; for in him we be complete: being made, through his death and one only oblation made and offered by

(*n*) Ibid. p. 292. (*o*) Ibid.

himſelf

himſelf upon the croſs, the children of God, and fellow-heirs with him of the celeſtial kingdom, which is the free-gift of God, and cometh not of merits, but of the mere grace of God.——He that is of God, heareth the word of God: John viii. Will you have a more plain badge, whether you are the elect child of God or no, than this text (*p*)?"

12. Mr. Strype has preſerved a valuable paper, entitled, John Bradford's Meditation of God's Providence and Preſence. Part of it runs thus: "This ought to be unto us moſt certain, that nothing is come without thy providence, O Lord: that is, that nothing is done, good or bad, ſweet or ſour, but by thy knowledge; that is, by thy will, wiſdom, and ordinance; for all theſe knowledge doth comprehend in it. As, by the word, we are taught, in many places, that even the loſs of a ſparrow is not without thy will; nor any liberty or power upon a poor porket [i. e. ſwine] have all the Devils in Hell, but by thine own appointment and will. And we muſt always believe it, moſt aſſuredly, to be, all, juſt and good, howſoever it may ſeem otherwiſe unto us. For thou art marvellous, and not comprehenſible, in thy ways; and holy, in all thy works. But hereunto it is neceſſary for us to know, no leſs certainly, that, altho' all things be done by thy providence, yet the ſame thy providence to have many and divers means to work by: which [means] being contemned, thy providence is contemned (*q*)."

Such ample atteſtation did this faithful martyr, and "prime pillar" of the Church of England, bear to "The doctrine taught in king Edward's days!"

A very remarkable and important confirmation of Mr. Bradford's zeal for doctrinal Calviniſm, as maintained by the Church of England, occurs in Strype's

(*p*) Ibid. p. 295.
(*q*) Strype's Eccleſ. Mem. vol. iii. Append. No. 29. p. 82.

Memorials of Cranmer, Book III. chap. xiv.——A confirmation, which alſo involves additional proof of the Calviniſm of archbiſhop Cranmer, biſhop Ridley, biſhop Latimer, biſhop Ferrar, Dr. Rowland Taylor, and Mr. Philpot, who (together with Bradford himſelf) were, all, martyrs for the church.

Strype acquaints us, under the year 1554, when Papal perſecution began to wax warm, that, among ſuch Proteſtants as then filled the public priſons in London, there was a mixture of free-will men: i. e. of men who "held free-will, tending to the derogation of God's grace; and refuſed the doctrine of abſolute predeſtination, and ori ginal n" (Memor. of Cranm. p. 350).—The hiſtorian adds, that theſe free-will priſoners, tho' men of ſtrict lives, were "very hot in their opinions and diſputations, and unquiet." Divers of them, it ſeems, were confined "in the King's Bench, where Bradford and many other goſpellers [i. e. Proteſtants] were: many whereof, by their conferences, they [i. e. the free-will men] gained to their own perſuaſion. Bradford had much diſcourſe with them. The name of their chief man was Harry Hart, who had writ ſomething in defence of his [free-will-] doctrine. Trew and Abingdon were teachers alſo among them: Kemp, Gybſon, and Chamberlain, were others. They ran their notions as high as Pelagius did, and valued no learning: the writings and authorities of the learned they utterly rejected and deſpiſed.

"Bradford was apprehenſive, that they might now do great harm in the church: and therefore, out of priſon, wrote a letter to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the three chief heads of the reformed, tho' oppreſſed Church in England, to take ſome cognizance of this matter, and to conſult with them in remedying it; and with him joined biſhop Ferrar, Rowland Taylor, and John Philpot." (Memor. of Cranm. *ut ſupr.*)

The

The letter itſelf, ſent on this occaſion, is extant in the Appendix to the above 'Memorials of Cranmer,' p. 195. No. lxxxiii. 'Tis entitled, "Bradford to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, concerning the free-willers." The ſuperſcription of it written by Bradford himſelf, ran thus: 'To my dear Fathers, Doctor Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, Doctor Latimer; priſoners in Oxford, for the teſtimony of the Lord Jeſus, and his holy goſpel.' Part of the letter is as follows: "Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, more and more kindle your hearts and affections with his love.—As for your parts, in that it is commonly thought, your ſtaff ſtandeth next the door" [i. e. you are among the firſt who are to be burnt for Chriſt], "Yee have the more cauſe to rejoice and be glad, as they which ſhal come to their fellowes under the altar. To the which ſociety, God, with you, bring me alſo, in his mercy, when it ſhal be his good pleſure.——Herewithal, I ſend unto you a little treatiſe" [written in favour of predeſtination], "which I have made, that you might peruſe the ſame.——Al the priſoners here about, in maner, have ſeen it, and read it: and as therein they aggre with me, nay rather with the truth; ſo they are ready, and will be, to ſignify it, as they ſhal ſe you give them example." Good Mr. Bradford then obſerves, that his motive to writing this letter, aroſe from the apprehenſions he entertained, of the "Great evil, that is like hereafter to come to poſterity, by theſe men," i. e. by the free-willers: adding, "The which thing that I might the more occaſion you to perceive, I have ſent you here a writing of Harry Hart's own hand: whereby ye may ſee, how Chriſt's glory and grace is like to loſe much light, if your ſheep *quondam* be not ſomething holpen by them that love God, and are able to prove that all good is to be attributed only and wholly to God's grace and mercy in Chriſt, without other reſpects of worthies than Chriſt's merits." The

holy and judicious martyr next proceeds to give the following true and juſt account of the free-willers. "The effects of ſalvation they ſo mingle and confound with the cauſe, that, if it be not ſeen to, more hurt will come by them, than ever came by the Papiſts.——In free-will, they are plain Papiſts; yea, Pelagians: and ye know, that *modicum fermenti totam maſſam corrumpit*. They utterly contemn all learning. But hereof ſhall this bringer" [i. e. ſhall the bearer of this letter] "ſhew you more." The whole concludes thus: "My brethren here with me have thought it their duty to ſignify this need to be no leſs than I make it, to prevent the plantations which may take root by theſe men.

"Yours in the Lord,

"Robert Ferrar,
"John Bradford,
"Rowland Taylor,
"John Philpot."

Such was Bradford's excellent letter againſt the free-will men. And what effect had it on Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer? It filled thoſe illuſtrious martyrs with deep and ſolemn alarm, leſt the corrupt leaven of free-will, tho' little at the time (few Proteſtants, comparatively, being infected with it), might, as Bradford alſo ſeemed to fear, go on to ſpread its defilement. "Upon this occaſion," ſays the hiſtorian, "Ridley wrote a Treatiſe on God's Election and Predeſtination. And Bradford wrote another upon the ſame ſubject, and ſent it to thoſe three Fathers in Oxford for their approbation: and their's" [i. e. the approbation of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer] "being obtained, the reſt of the eminent divines, in and about London, were ready to ſign it alſo." (Strype's Mem. of Cranm. p. 350).

"I have" adds Mr. Strype, "ſeen another letter of Bradford, to certain of thoſe men who were ſaid to hold the error of the Pelagians and Papiſts concern-

concerning man's free-will:——By which letter, it appeared, that Bradford had often reſorted to them and conferred with them; and, at his own charge and hindrance, had done them good. But, ſeeing their obſtinacy and clamours againſt him, he forbore to come at them any more: but yet wrote letters to them, and ſent them relief. They told him, he was a great ſlander to the word of God, in reſpect of his doctrine; in that he believed and affirmed the ſalvation of God's children to be ſo certain, that they ſhould aſſuredly enjoy the ſame: for, they ſaid, it hanged partly on our perſeverance to the end. Bradford [by way of anſwer] ſaid, it [i. e. ſalvation] hung upon God's grace in Chriſt; and not upon our perſeverance, in any point: for then were grace no grace.—They charged him, that he was not ſo kind to them as he ought, in the diſtribution of the charity-money (which was then ſent by well-diſpoſed perſons to the priſoners of Chriſt, in which Bradford was the purſe-bearer); but he aſſured them, he never defrauded them of the value of a penny: and at that time ſent them 13s. 4d. and, if they needed as much more, he promiſed they ſhould have it."

Tho' Mr. Bradford broke the errors of the free-will men to pieces with the hammer of God's word: he yet obſerved all poſſible candour and meekneſs toward their perſons. "Let love," ſaid he, "bear the bell away; and let us pray one for another, and be careful one for another.—I have loved you in the Lord, my dear hearts; tho' you have taken it otherwiſe, without cauſe by me given.—I have not" [i. e. he had not then] "ſuffered any copy of my Treatiſe of Predeſtination to go abroad, becauſe I would ſuppreſs all occaſion, ſo far as might be. I am going before you, to my God and your God, to my Father and your Father, to my Chriſt and your Chriſt, to my home and your home." What a ſtriking model, was this excellent man, of 'ortho-

doxy and charity united!'—Mr. Strype obſerves, that, "By Bradford's pains and diligence, he gained ſome [i. e. ſome of the free-willers] from their errors; particularly, one Skelthorp: for whom, in a letter to Careleſs, he thanked God, who gave this man to ſee the truth at length." Mem. of Cranm. p. 350, 351.

I ſhall now proceed to Mr. John Philpot, arch-deacon of Wincheſter: to which he was collated by the pious and diſcerning Dr. Ponet, the firſt Proteſtant biſhop of that ſee, and a principle framer of that excellent catechiſm mentioned in Section xiii.

Mr. arch-deacon Philpot "was of a worſhipful houſe, a knight's ſon, born in Hampſhire, brought up in New College, Oxford, where he ſtudied the civil law for 6 or 7 years, beſides other liberal arts, and eſpecially the languages. In wit he was pregnant and happy; of a ſingular courage; in ſpirit, fervent; in religion, zealous (*r*)." He ſuffered death in Smithfield, December 18, 1555.

At

(*r*) Fox's Acts & Mon. vol. iii. p. 459.—Mr. Strype records two amuſing incidents, relative to this Mr. Philpot. "He was the ſon of Sir Peter Philpot, Knight, nigh Wincheſter; and was, in his youth, put to Wickham College; where he profited in learning, ſo well, that he laid a wager of twenty pence with John Harpsfield, that he would make two hundred verſes in one night, and not make above three faults in them. Mr. Thomas Tuchyner, ſchoolmaſter, was judge: and adjudged the twenty pence to Mr. Philpot." Strype's Eccl. Mem. iii. p. 263.—"Stephen [Gardiner], biſhop of Winton, ever bore ill-will againſt this godly gentleman [viz. againſt Mr. Philpot the martyr], and forbad him preaching, oftentimes, in king Henry's reign. But he [Philpot] could not in conſcience hide his talent under this Prince, and in ſo Popiſh a dioceſe. At laſt the biſhop ſent for certain juſtices, who came to his houſe: and there calling Mr. Philpot, rogue; [Philpot ſaid to the biſhop], My lord, do you keep a privy ſeſſions in your own houſe for me, and call me rogue, whoſe father is a knight, and may ſpend a thouſand pounds within one mile of your noſe? And he that can ſpend ten pounds by the year, as I can, I thank God, is no vagabond.

"Biſhop of Wincheſter. Canſt thou ſpend ten pounds by the year?

"Philpot.

At his examination, before five Popiſh prelates, and other doctors of the Romiſh church; Mr. Philpot defied them all to confute Calvin's inſtitutions. "Which of you all," ſaid he, "is able to anſwer Calvin's inſtitutions, who is miniſter of Geneva (*s*)?" To which one of the Papiſts (Dr. Saverſon) replied, "A godly miniſter indeed! of receipt of cut-purſes and runagate traitors. And of late, I can tell you, there is ſuch contention fallen between him [meaning, Calvin] and his own ſects, that he was fain to flee the town, about predeſtination. I tell you truth: for I came by Geneva hither." To this, Philpot rejoined in theſe words: "I am ſure you blaſpheme that godly man, and that godly church where he is miniſter. As it is your churches condition" [i. e. in ſlandering Calvin, you only follow the conſtant practice of the Romiſh church], "when you cannot anſwer men by learning, to oppreſs them with blaſphemies and falſe reports. For, in the matter of predeſtination, he [i. e. Calvin] is in no other opinion than all the doctors of the church be, agreeing [i. e. who agree] with the Scriptures (*t*)." Such was Mr. Philpot's judgment, of Calvin, and predeſtination. And, indeed, where was then the Church of England-man who thought otherwiſe either of him or it?

On a ſubſequent examination before the Popiſh commiſſioners; Ralph Bayne, biſhop of Coventry and Litchfield, told Mr. Philpot, that Chriſt propheſied of Geneva, when he bid his diſciples beware of falſe prophets. Take the biſhop's flirtation,

"Philpot. Aſk Henry Francis, your ſiſter's ſon.——Henry Francis, kneeling down, ſaid, I pray you, my lord, be a good lord to Mr. Philpot: for he is to me a good landlord.

"Biſhop of Wincheſter. What rent doſt thou pay him?

"Francis. I pay him ten pounds by the year.

"At this word, the biſhop was afraid, and aſhamed for making ſo loud a lie upon a gentleman, and a learned gentleman." Stryp. Ibid.

(*s*) Fox, vol. iii. p. 470. (*t*) Ibid.

and

and Philpot's anſwer, in the words of each reſpectively.

" Biſhop of Cov. Your Church of Geneva, which ye [i. e. ye Proteſtants] call the Catholic Church, is that which Chriſt propheſied of.

" Philpot. I allow [i. e. I acknowledge and profeſs] the Church of Geneva, and the doctrine of the ſame: for it is *Una, Catholica, et Apoſtolica*; and doth follow the doctrine, which the apoſtles did preach: and the doctrine, taught and preached in king Edward's days, was alſo according to the ſame (*u*)." Here is an arch-deacon of the Church of England, who laid down his life for her doctrines, openly witneſſing that the doctrinal ſyſtem of Calvin and Geneva was the ſame which the apoſtles preached, and the ſame which was taught and aſſerted in the days of king Edward. And the arch-deacon well knew what he ſaid, and whereof he affirmed. For he had been, not only a clergyman, but a dignitary, of our Proteſtant Church, in the ſaid king Edward's days. He had, moreover, not only the ocular demonſtration of Calvin's writings, to convince him how exactly the doctrines of that reformer harmonized with the doctrines of the Church of England; but had likewiſe had auricular demonſtration of it, during his travels abroad. So that this martyr's peremptory atteſtation to the ſameneſs of the doctrine eſtabliſhed at Geneva, under Calvin; with the doctrine eſtabliſhed in England, under king Edward; is ſuch a proof of the Calviniſm of our Church, as all the piddling cavils of all the Arminian methodiſts in the three kingdoms will never be able to ſhake.

While the good arch-deacon lay in priſon, he wrote ſeveral ineſtimable letters: and from which I ſhall give the reader a few ſelections.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 495.

1. " To

1. " To Mr. John Careleſs, priſoner in the King's Bench.

" God, by his ſpirit, ſetteth the ſins of his elect ſtill before them; that where they perceived ſin to abound, there they might be aſſured that grace ſhall ſuper-abound: and bringeth them down unto Hell, that he might lift them up with greater joy to Heaven. The ſpirit, which is in you, is mightier than all the adverſary's power. Tempt he [i. e. the adverſary] may; and, lying await at your heels, give you a fall, unawares: but overcome he ſhall not, yea, he cannot; for you are ſealed up already, with a lively faith, to be the child of God for ever. And whom God hath once ſealed for his own, him he never utterly forſaketh. The juſt falleth ſeven times: but he riſeth again. It is man's frailty, to fall: but it is the property of the Devil's child, to lie ſtill.—Who can lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? Do you not perceive the manifeſt tokens of your election? Firſt, your vocation to the goſpel; and, after your vocation, the manifeſt gifts of the ſpirit of God, given unto you above many others of your condition, with godlineſs, which believeth and yieldeth to the authority of the Scriptures, and is zealous for the ſame. The peace of God be with you, my dear brother. I can write no more, for lack of light. And that I have written, I cannot read myſelf; and, God knoweth, it is written far uneaſily. I pray God, you may pick out ſome underſtanding of my mind towards you. Written in a coal-houſe of darkneſs, out of a pair of painful ſtocks; by thine own in Chriſt, John Philpot(*x*)." It was uſual for ſome of the Proteſtant preachers, before ſentence of death was actually paſſed, to be confined in biſhop Bonner's coal-houſe: where they ſuffered every kind of inconvenience and indignity.

(*x*) Ibid, p. 502.

2. " To

2. " To certain godly Brethren.

" To continue out in well-doing, is the only property of the children of God" [i. e. is the property of God's children only], " and ſuch as aſſuredly ſhall be ſaved. He hath commanded his angels to keep us, that we ſtumble not at a ſtone without his divine providence (*y*)."

3. " To Lady Vane.

" Bleſſed be they that mourn, for ſuch ſhall be comforted. God wipe away all tears from your pitiful eyes, and ſorrow from your merciful heart: that you may (as, doubtleſs, you ſhall do ſhortly) rejoice with his elect for ever.—God pour his ſpirit abundantly upon you: until you may come to ſee the God of all Gods, with his elect, in Sion (*z*)."

4. " To the ſame Lady.

" His elect, and ſuch as he loveth, will he puniſh here, that they ſhould not be condemned hereafter with the world eternally.—Be thankful unto God, for his wondrous working in his choſen people (*a*)." The benevolent reader will not be diſpleaſed, to know, that the excellent perſon to whom the two laſt mentioned letters were addreſſed, and who was the common ſupporter of God's afflicted witneſſes, during the whole reign of Mary, was reſerved by Providence, to out-live thoſe perſecuting times, and had the comfort of ſeeing the Church of England reſtored by queen Elizabeth. Mr. Fox's ſhort account of this elect lady (as Mr. Philpot juſtly termed her) will hardly be cenſured as a digreſſion. " This lady Vane was a ſpecial nurſe of the godly ſaints, who were impriſoned in queen Mary's time. Unto whom divers letters I have, both of Mr. Philpot, Careleſs, Trahern, Thomas Roſe, and others: wherein they render moſt grateful thanks for her exceeding goodneſs towards them; with their ſingular commendation and teſtimony alſo of her Chriſtian

(*y*) Ibid. p. 504. (*z*) Ibid. p. 506. (*a*) Ibid. p. 508, 509.

zeal

zeal towards God's afflicted priſoners, and to the verity of his Goſpel. She departed of late, at Holborn" [now a part of London, then a village near it, or at moſt a ſuburb] "Anno 1568, whoſe end was more like ſleep than death, ſo quietly and meekly ſhe deceaſed in the Lord (*b*)."

Mr. Strype informs us of the earneſtneſs, with which arch-deacon Philpot oppoſed an Arian of thoſe times. On this occaſion, Philpot wrote what he calls an apology. It is extant in the Eccleſiaſtical Memoirs (*c*). Among other particulars, it contains the following: "Pray that God will give you the lyke zele to withſtand the enemies of the Goſpel,—which go about to teach you any other doctryne than you have received in kynge Edward's days: in the which, praiſed be God, all the ſyncerity of the Goſpel was reveled, accordynge to the pure uſe of the primitive Churche, and as it is, at this preſent, of the trew Catholyck Churche, allowed through the worlde. Thes new heretyks are ful of blaſphemous reports: ſpreading the ſame abroad, both by themſelfs, and by their adherents, againſt the ſincere profeſſors of the Goſpel, that we make God the author of ſynne; and that we ſay, Let men do what they will, it is not material, yf they be predeſtinate. And with this I, among other, am moſt ſlaunderouſly charged and defamed by thes owtragious heretyks; to whom I have gon abowte, to my power, to do good, as God is my witnes. But I have receved the reward of a prophet at their hands (although I am not worthy to be cownted under that glorious name), which is ſhame, rebuke, ſlaunder, and ſlaying of my good fame:—only bycauſe I holde and affirme, being manifeſtly inſtructed by God's word, that the elect of God cannot finally periſh. Therefore they [i. e. the Arian free-willers] have pyked owt of their own malicious nailes the former part of thes blaſphemies:

(*b*) Ibid. p. 274. (*c*) Vol. iii. Append. No. 48. p. 145—157.

and

and becauſe, at another tyme, I did reprove them of their temerous and raſh judgement, for condemnyng of menuſyng thyngs indifferent, as ſhooting, bowling, hawkyng, with ſuch lyke; provyng by the Scripture, that all men, in a temperancy, might uſe them in their dew tymes, and ſhowing honeſt paſtyme was no ſynne: which thes contentious ſchiſmatyks do improve, whereupon they do maliciouſly deſcant, as is before mentioned."

Here let us obſerve, 1. That the Arians of that age were likewiſe free-willers: they not only denied the proper divinity of God the Son and God the Spirit, but alſo the predeſtination of God the Father, and the final perſeverance of his people. 2. As theſe Arians were free-willers; ſo, it ſhould ſeem, that none, who call themſelves Proteſtants, were free-willers, but ſuch as were Arians too. 3. Theſe free-will Arians were profeſſed Diſſenters from the reformed Church of England. Hence, Mr. Philpot vindicates the Church from their malicious objections. Indeed, ſuch men as theſe could be no other than Diſſenters. They held what the Church denies, and denied what the Church affirms. The Church denies, to this day, that free-will has any power in ſpirituals: but thoſe Arian Pelagians maintained the contrary. The Church aſſerts abſolute predeſtination: but they denied that there is any ſuch thing. The Church holds a trinity of divine perſons: to which thoſe men ſaid, Nay. The Church affirms the ultimate perſeverance of the elect: the above Arians would not allow of it at all. The Church declares, that no man upon earth is free from ſin: but thoſe very free-will Arians, againſt whom archdeacon Philpot diſputes in the ſaid apology, maintained, that "men might be without ſin, as well as Chriſt (*d*)." The Church teaches her children to ſay, Lord, have mercy upon us miſerable ſinners:

(*d*) Strype's Eccleſ. Mem. vol. iii. p. 261.

but

but theſe identical Arian free-willers objected againſt that ſuffrage; for they ſaid, they were not miſerable, nor would be accounted ſo (*e*)." The Church uſes the Lord's Prayer: but the aforeſaid free-will Arians "were againſt uſing the Lord's Prayer; for it was needleſs, they ſaid, to pray, thy kingdom come, when God's kingdom was already come upon them. And alſo that petition, forgive us our treſpaſſes: for they held they had no ſin (*f*)." Query: Would not any body almoſt imagine, that, in all the above reſpects (the article, concerning the Trinity, alone excepted), theſe free-will Arians were deſigned as types, figures, fore-runners, and prophetic images, of Meſſrs. Weſley, Sellon, and their aſſociates? Never, ſurely, was there a ſtronger likeneſs, in all the features but one! 4. The ſelf-ſame ſlander againſt predeſtination and perſeverance, which was raiſed by thoſe Arians, is (almoſt in the ſelf-ſame words) alledged by the acrimonious Arminians laſt mentioned. The Arian ſlander, urged againſt the "doctrine received in king Edward's days," was, Let men do what they will, it is not material, if they be predeſtinate." And what ſays Mr. John Weſley? "the elect ſhall be ſaved, do what they will." Behold, how brethren jump together? 5. Mr. Philpot, the martyred arch-deacon, was traduced, by the ſaid Arians, as an Antinomian, becauſe he maintained that "honeſt paſtime was no ſynne," if properly timed, and temperately indulged: ſuch as "ſhooting, bowling, hawking, and ſuch like." 6. Juſtly, therefore, did that pious and learned martyr brand the ſaid free-will Arian-perfectioniſts (and, by the ſame rule, juſtly may their modern ſucceſſors be branded) on account of "their temerarious and raſh judgment, for condemning men uſing things indifferent."

(*e*) Strype, ibid. (*f*) Strype, ibid.

So

So much for the excellent Mr. Philpot; who ſhall now take his leave of the reader, with this ſhort, but weighty obſervation: "Such is the omnipotencye of owre God, that he can and doth make, to his elect, ſour, ſweet, and miſery, felicity (*g*)."

Mr. Richard Woodman was burned, in one fire, with nine other martyrs, at Lewes, in Suſſex, July 22, 1557.

His firſt examination was before Dr. Chriſtopherſon, the Popiſh biſhop of Chicheſter. Some particulars, which paſſed on that occaſion, are worthy the reader's attention.

"Biſhop of Chicheſter. Do you think that you have the ſpirit of God?

"Mr. Woodman. I believe verily that I have.

"Biſhop of Chicheſter. You boaſt more than ever Paul did, or any of the apoſtles: which is great preſumption.

"Mr. Woodman. I boaſt not in myſelf, but in the gift of God, as Paul did.——I can prove, by places enough, that Paul had the ſpirit of God; as I myſelf, and all God's elect, have.

"Biſhop of Chicheſter. How prove you that?

"Mr. Woodman. No man can believe that Jeſus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghoſt, 1 Cor. vii. I do believe that Jeſus Chriſt is my redeemer, and that I ſhall be ſaved from all my ſins by his death and bloodſhedding; as Paul and all the apoſtles did, and as all faithful people ought to do: which no man can do, without the ſpirit of God. And as there is no damnation to them that are in Chriſt Jeſus, ſo is there no ſalvation to them that are not in Chriſt: for he, that hath not the ſpirit of Chriſt, is none of his. We have received the ſpirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.

The

(*g*) Strype, ibid. Append. p. 157.

The ſame ſpirit certifieth our ſpirits, that we are the ſons of God. Beſides all this, he, that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him. So, it is impoſſible to believe in God, unleſs God dwell in us.

" Dr. Story [another of the Popiſh examiners.] Oh, my Lord, what an heretic is this ſame? Why hear you him? Send him to priſon, to his fellows in the Marſhalſea, and they ſhall be diſpatched within theſe twelve days.

" Biſhop of Chich. Methinks he is not afraid of the priſon.

" Mr. Woodm. No; I praiſe the living God.

" Dr. Story. This is an heretic indeed: he hath the right terms of all heretics. The living God! I pray you, be there dead gods, that you ſay the living God?

" Mr. Woodm. Are you angry with me, becauſe I ſpeak the words that are written in the Bible?

" Dr. Story. Bibble babble, bibble babble. What ſpeakeſt thou of the Bible? There is no ſuch word written in all the Bible (*b*)."

Some time afterwards, Mr. Woodman was examined again, before Doctor Langdale. By reciting what then paſſed, concerning God's decrees, and man's free-will, we ſhall ſee, whether the Popiſh doctor was not what would now be called an Arminian, and the Proteſtant martyr a Calviniſt.

" Mr. Woodm. St. Paul ſaith, Rom. ix. Ere ever the children were born, ere ever they had done either good or bad, that the purpoſe of God, which is by election, might ſtand, not by the reaſon of works, but by the grace of the caller, the elder ſhall ſerve the younger: Jacob have I loved, and Eſau have I hated.

" Dr. Langd. Methinks, by your talk, you deny original ſin and free-will.

(*b*) Fox, vol. iii. p. 675.

" Mr. Woodm. I pray you, what free-will hath man to do good of himſelf?

" Dr. Langd. I ſay, that all men have as much free-will now, as Adam had before his fall.

" Mr. Woodm. I pray you, how prove you that?

" Dr. Langd. Thus I prove it: that as ſin entered into the world, and by the means of one that ſinned, all men became ſinners, which was by Adam; ſo, by the obedience of one man, righteouſneſs came upon all men that had ſinned, and ſet them as free as they were before the fall: which was by Jeſus Chriſt.

" Mr. Woodm. Oh Lord, what an overthrow have you given yourſelf here, in original ſin! For, in proving that we have free-will, you have quite denied original ſin. For here you have declared, that we be ſet as free by the death of Chriſt, as Adam was before his fall: and I am ſure, that Adam had no original ſin before his fall. If we be as free now, as he was then; I marvel wherefore Paul complained thrice to God, to take away the ſting of it: God making him anſwer, and ſaying, my grace is ſufficient for thee.

" Theſe words, with divers other, prove original ſin in us; but not that it ſhall hurt God's elect people, but that his grace is ſufficient for all his.—I ſay, with David, in ſin was I born, and in ſin hath my mother conceived me: but in no ſuch ſin that ſhall be imputed; becauſe I am born of God by faith. Therefore I am bleſſed, as ſaith the prophet, becauſe the Lord imputeth not my ſin: not becauſe I have no ſin, but becauſe God hath not imputed my ſins. Not of our own deſerving, but of his free mercy, he hath ſaved us. Where is now your free-will that you ſpeak of? If we have free-will, then our ſalvation cometh of our own ſelves, and not of God: which is a great blaſphemy againſt God and his word.

" For

" For Saint James ſaith, every good gift, and every perfect gift cometh from above, from the Father of Light, with whom is no variableneſs. Of his own will begat he us. For the wind" [i. e. the regenerating breath of the Holy Spirit] " bloweth where it liſteth. It is God that worketh in us the will, and alſo the deed. Seeing, then, that every good gift cometh from above, and lighteneth upon whom it pleaſeth God, and that he worketh in us both the will and the deed; methinks all the reſt of our own will is little worth, or nought at all, unleſs it be wickedneſs. And as for original ſin, I think I have declared my mind therein, how it remaineth in man: which you cannot deny, unleſs you deny the word of God.

" Dr. Langd. Say what you can: for it availeth me to ſay nothing to you. I was deſired to ſend for you, to teach you; and there will no words of mine take place in you; but you go about to reprove me. Say what you will, for me (*i*)."

The truth is, the Popiſh examiner had the wrong end of the argument: and he was glad to ſhuffle off the Calviniſtic priſoner, as well as he could. Mr. Woodman, however, was not ſo eaſily ſhuffled off: for, to one who came in during the debate, the intrepid martyr ſaid, " He [i. e. Dr. Langdale] ſaith, I denied original ſin; and it was he himſelf (that denied it), for he went about to prove that man hath free-will (*k*)."

This Proteſtant hero's laſt examination, at the cloſe of which he received ſentence of death, was held in the Church of St. Mary Overey (now St. Saviour's), Southwark. Himſelf informs us, that his judges and condemners were, Gardiner " the biſhop of Wincheſter, (Chriſtopherſon) biſhop of Chicheſter, the arch-deacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdale, M. Roper, with a fat-headed prieſt, I cannot tell his name (*l*)." We ſhall ſoon ſee, what a jeſt this

(*i*) Ibid. p. 684. (*k*) Ibid. p. 686. (*l*) Ibid. p. 691.

"fat-headed prieſt," whoſe name Mr. Woodman could not tell, made of predeſtination, and juſtification by faith alone. Happy would it have been for the Proteſtant cauſe in general, and for the Church of England in particular, if thoſe doctrines had, to this day, been exploded by Papiſts only. But there have, ſince, been too many "fat-headed prieſts," of more than one Proteſtant denomination, at whoſe hands the doctrines of election and free juſtification found no better reception, than at thoſe of the nameleſs fat-headed prieſt above-mentioned. I wiſh the ſame remark may not extend to more than a few lean-headed prieſts likewiſe.

The Commiſſioners being ſat, Mr. Woodman was called upon to give an account of his faith.—This he did, as follows:

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things viſible and inviſible. And in one Lord Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour; very God, and very man. I believe in God the Holy Ghoſt, the comforter of all God's elect people; and that he is equal with the Father and the Son (*m*)."

The biſhop of Winton and the arch-deacon of Canterbury told him, in the cant ſo uſual with perſecutors, "we go not about to condemn thee, but to ſave thy ſoul, if thou wilt be ruled, and do as we would have thee.

"Woodm. To ſave my ſoul? Nay; you cannot ſave my ſoul. My ſoul is ſaved already: I praiſe God therefore. There can no man ſave my ſoul, but Jeſus Chriſt. And he it is that hath ſaved my ſoul, before the foundation of the world was laid.

"The fat Prieſt. What an hereſy is that, my lord! Here's an hereſy! He ſaith, his ſoul was ſaved before the foundations of the world were laid!

(*m*) Ibid.

Thou

Thou canſt not tell what thou ſayeſt. Was thy ſoul ſaved before it was [i. e. before it exiſted]?

"Woodm. Yes, I praiſe God, I can tell what I ſay; and I ſay the truth. Look in the firſt of Epheſians, and there you ſhall find it: where Paul ſaith, bleſſed be God, the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath bleſſed us with all manner of ſpiritual bleſſings, in heavenly things, by Chriſt; according as he hath choſen us in him, before the foundation of the world was laid, that we ſhould be holy and without blame before him, through love; and thereto were we predeſtinated. Theſe be the words of Paul: and I believe they be moſt true. And therefore it is my faith, in and by Jeſus Chriſt, that ſaveth: and not you, nor any man elſe.

"The fat Prieſt. What! Faith without works? St. James ſaith, faith without works is dead. And we have free-will to do good works.

"Woodm. I would not that any of you ſhould think that I diſallow good works: for a good faith cannot be without good works. Yet not of ourſelves: it is the gift of God. It is God that worketh in us both the will and the deed (*n*)."

What could the Popiſh free willers and meritmongers do with this inflexible heretic? Convince him they could not. The ſhorteſt expedient, therefore, was, to burn him out of the way: which they accordingly did.

Let me now introduce Mr. John Clement to my readers; a man of great grace, and diſtinguiſhed uſefulneſs; concerning whom, Mr. Strype thus writes:

"There were now [viz. in the year 1556] abundance of ſects and dangerous doctrines; whoſe maintainers ſhrouded themſelves under the profeſſors

(*n*) Fox, Ibid. p. 692.

of the goſpel [i. e. they affected to paſs for Proteſtants]. Some denied the godhead of Chriſt; ſome denied his manhood. Others denied the godhead of the Holy Ghoſt, original ſin, the doctrine of predeſtination and free election, the deſcent of Chriſt into Hell (which the Proteſtants here generally held), the baptiſm of infants. Others held free-will, man's righteouſneſs, and juſtification by works: doctrines, which the Proteſtants, in the times of king Edward, for the moſt part diſowned. By theſe opinions, a ſcandal was raiſed on the true profeſſors [i. e. on thoſe who had ſuffered, and who were then ſuffering perſecution and death for their attachment to the Proteſtant Church of England]. Therefore it was thought fit now, by the orthodox, to write and publiſh, ſummary confeſſions of their faith, to leave behind them when they were dead: wherein they ſhould diſclaim theſe doctrines, as well as all Popiſh doctrines whatſoever.

" This was done by one John Clement, this year (1556), laying a priſoner in the King's Bench for religion; (whoſe declaration is) entitled, A Confeſſion and Proteſtation of the Chriſtian Faith. In which it appears, the Proteſtants thought fit (notwithſtanding the condemnation and burning of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Rogers, Saunders, Bradford, for heretics), to own their doctrine" (viz. 'the doctrine of Cranm. Ridl. Latim. Hoop. Rog. Saund. Bradf. &c.') as agreeable to the word of God, and " them as ſuch as ſealed the ſame with their own blood. This confeſſion may be looked upon as an account of the belief of the profeſſors" [i. e. of the Proteſtant Church of Englandmen] " in thoſe days. Copies thereof were taken, and ſo diſperſed, for the uſe of good men: one whereof is in my hands.———Thus we ſee how induſtriouſly they [the Proteſtants of thoſe days] diſowned all Arians, Anabaptiſts, and ſuch like, who being not of the Roman faith, the Papiſts would fain have joined

joined them with all the Proteſtants, to diſgrace and diſparage the holy profeſſion (*o*)."

Before I quote the confeſſion itſelf, let me obſerve, from the above paſſage, 1. That, ſo far as appears, Arians, Socinians, and ſuch like, were the only Proteſtants who, in thoſe times, denied "the doctrines of predeſtination and free election:" and that the Proteſtants, "in the times of king Edward," did for the moſt part "diſown the doctrines of free-will, man's righteouſneſs, and juſtification by works." And no wonder: for "the moſt part" of the then Proteſtants were ſincere members of the Church of England: which church then did, and ſtill does, aſſert "predeſtination and free election;" and deny "free-will, man's righteouſneſs, and juſtification by works."—2. 'Tis evident, that ſuch, as diſſented from the Church of England in thoſe points, ſtrove to take advantage of the afflicted, perſecuted ſtate, which the Church was in, under the reign of Mary; and to palm themſelves upon the world, as churchmen: labouring to perſuade the ignorant, that the doctrines, for which the martyrs bled, were the ſame doctrines which were held by theſe ſame Arians, free-willers, and work-mongers. With as much audacity, and with as little truth, as Weſley, Sellon, and others of that ſtamp, now effect to ſhelter their Pelagianiſm under the wing of our preſent eſtabliſhment.—3. The ſurviving Proteſtants, who were impriſoned for the faith, and had not yet (as many of them ſoon afterwards were) been brought to the ſtake, took no ſmall alarm at the impudence and falſehood of theſe free-willers: and thought it incumbent upon themſelves, as well they might, to clear the ſuffering Church of England and her godly martyrs, from the unjuſt inſinuations of the Arian and Pelagian party. They deemed it, ſays Mr. Strype, "a ſcandal," to be

(*o*) Strype's Eccleſ. Mem. vol. iii. p. 363, 364, 365.

numbered with thoſe few, but inſolent fanatics, who, "denying predeſtination and free election," held "free-will and juſtification by works."—4. The more openly to "diſclaim," and the more effectually to "diſown," all connection with theſe intruding free-willers; "the orthodox," ſays Mr. Strype, "thought fit to own," i. e. publicly and unanimouſly to avow, "the doctrine of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Rogers, Saunders, and Bradford, as agreeable to the word of God," and to the faith of the reformed Church of England: and to own "them," i. e. to own the ſaid martyrs, Cranmer, &c. to have been "ſuch as ſealed the ſame [doctrines] with their blood."—To this end, 5. It was reſolved on, by the evangelical priſoners, to draw up, and publiſh, an explicit confeſſion of faith, prior to their own martyrdom: which confeſſion might remain "behind them, when they were dead," and be a ſtanding proof of their union and communion, in matters of doctrine, with Cranmer, Ridley, &c. and the other foregoing martyrs of the Church of England.—6. The framing this confeſſion, and the digeſting of it into form, was committed to Mr. John Clement: who executed his truſt with ſuch care, fidelity, and ability, that (ſays Mr. Strype) the ſaid confeſſion may be looked upon as an "account of the belief of the profeſſors in thoſe days:" i. e. of the "Proteſtants in the times of king Edward," thouſands of whom were afterwards perſecuted, and hundreds of whom were put to death, under the ſucceeding tyranny of Mary.

So much by way of preliminary to this famous confeſſion. Now for a conciſe view, of the confeſſion itſelf. The reader that pleaſes to peruſe the whole of it may ſee it in Strype (*p*).

(*p*) Ibid, Append. No. lxi. from p. 210 to 225.

It obſerves, toward the beginning, the manifold ſubtlety of Satan in corrupting the human mind from the glorious goſpel of the bleſſed God: "Some denyinge the doctrine of Gode's firm predeſtination and free election in Jeſus Chriſte; which is the very certayntie of our ſalvation.—And as he" [i. e. the Devil] "hathe cauſed them to denye all theſe thinges, even ſo hathe he made them to affirm many madde and fooliſh fantaſyes, whiche the worde of God dothe utterlye condempne: as free-will, man's righteouſneſs, and juſtifying of workes; withe dyvers ſuche lyke; to the great diſhonoure of God, to the obſcuringe of his glorye, the darkeninge of his truthe, to the great defacynge of Chriſtes deathe; yea to the utter deſtruction of many a ſimple ſoule, that cannot ſhyfte from theſe ſubtyll ſleyghtes of Satan, excepte the Lorde ſhewe his great mercye upon them.—I do undoubtedlye beleve in God the Holy Ghoſte, who is the Lorde and gever of lyfe, and the ſanctifier of all Godes elect. Furthermore, I do confeſſe, and undoubtedlye beleve, that I, and every lyvely member of this Catholyke church, is and ſhall be redeemed, juſtified and ſaved, oneley and ſolye by the free grace and mere mercye of God in Jeſus Chriſte, throughe his moſte precyious deathe and bloudſheaddinge: and in no part by or for any of our owne good workes, merites, or deſervings, that we can do or deſerve. Notwithſtandinge, I confeſſe, that all men ought, and are bownde by the worde of God, to doe good workes, and to knowe and kepe God's commandmentes: yet not to deſerve any part of our ſalvations thereby; but to ſhewe their obedience to God, and the frutes of faythe unto the worlde.——And this ſalvation, redemption, and juſtification, is apprehended or receaved of us, by the onely faithe in Jeſus Chriſte: in that ſence and meanynge, as is declared in the homilye of juſtification, which was appoynted to be reade in the peculiar Church of Englande, in good kynge

kynge Edward's dayes the ſyxte. Which homilye, with all the reaſte, then ſet furthe by his authoritie, I do affirme and beleve to be a true, holeſome, and godlye doctryne for all Chryſtian men to beleve, obſerve, kepe, and folowe.

"Alſo, I do beleve and confeſſe, that the laſt boke, which was geven to the Churche of Englande by the authoritie of good kynge Edwarde the ſyxte and the whole parliament, contayninge the manor and fourme of Common Prayer, and miniſtration of the bleſſed ſacramentes in the Churche of Englande; ought to have been receaved with all readynes of mynde, and thankfullnes of harte.—Alſo I do accepte, beleve, and alowe, for a very truthe, all the godlye articles that were agreed upon in the Convocation-houſe, and publiſhed by the kynges majeſties authoritie (I meane, kynge Edwarde the ſyxte), in the laſt yeare of his moſt gracyous reigne.

"I doe confeſſe and beleve, that Adam, by his fall, loſt, from himſelf and all his poſterity, all the freedome, choyce, and power of man's will to doe good: ſo that all the will and imaginations of mannes harte is onelye to evil, and altogether ſubject to ſynne, and bonde and captive to all manner of wickednes. So that it cannot once thinke a good thought, much leſſe then doe any good deede, as of his owne worke, pleaſaunte and acceptable in the ſyght of God, untill ſuche tyme as the ſame" [i. e. untill ſuch time as the will] "be regenerate by the Holy Ghoſte.—Until the ſpirite of regeneration be given us of God, we can neither will, doe, ſpeake, nor thinke, any good thynge that is acceptable in his ſight.—As a man that is deade cannot riſe up himſelfe, or worke anye thynge towards his reſurrection; or he that is not, worke towardes his creation; even ſo the naturall man cannot worke any thynge towards his regeneration. As a bodye, without the ſoule, cannot move but downewardes; ſo the ſoule of man, without the ſpirite of Chriſte, cannot

cannot lyfte up himſelfe. He muſt be borne agayne, to doe the workes that be ſpirituall and holye. And by ourſelves we cannot be regenerate by any meanes: for it is onlye the worke of God. To whom let us praye, with David, that he will take away our ſtonye hartes, and create in us new hartes, by the mighty operations of his holye ſpirite.

" I do acknowledge, confeſſe, and undoubtedlye beleve, that God, our eternal Father (whoſe power is incomprehenſible, whoſe wiſdome is infinite, and his judgments unſearchable) hath, onelye of his greate aboundant mercye, and free goodneſſe, and favoure, in Jeſus Chriſte, ordeyned, predeſtinated, elected, and appointed, before the foundation of the worlde was layd, an innumerable multitude of Adam's poſteritie, to be ſaved from their ſynnes thoroughe the merites of Chriſtes deathe and bloudſheaddinge onelye; and to be (thoroughe Chriſt) his adopted ſonnes, and heres of his everlaſting kingdome, in whom his great mercye ſhal be magnified forever: of which moſte happye number, my fyrme faith and ſtedfaſt beleve is, that I, althoughe unworthye, am one; onelye throughe the mercye of God in Jeſus Chriſte our Lorde and Savyour.

" And I beleve, and am ſurely certified, by the teſtimonye of Godes good ſpirite, and the unfallyble truthe of his moſt holye worde, that neither I, nor any of theſe his choſen children, ſhall fynally periſhe, or be dampned: althoughe we all (if God ſhould entre into judgment with us, according to our dedes) have juſtly deſerved it. But ſuche is Godes greate mercye towardes us, for our Lorde Jeſus Chriſtes ſake, that our ſynnes ſhall never be imputed unto us. We are all geven to Chriſte to kepe, who will loſe none of us: neither can any thinge pluck us furthe of his handes, or ſeparate us from him. He hathe maryed us unto him by faythe, and made us his pure ſpouſe without ſpot or wrincle in his ſight, and will never be devorced from us.

He

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He hathe taken from us all our ſynnes, myſeries, and infirmities; and hathe put them upon himſelfe: and hathe clothed us with his righteouſneſs, and enriched us with his merites, and mercyes, and moſte lovinge benefites. And he hathe not onelye done all this, and much more, for us; but alſo, of his greate mercye, love, and kyndneſs, he dothe ſtyll kepe the ſame moſt ſurelye ſafelye for us, and will doe ſo forever: for he lovethe us unto the ende. His Father hathe committed us unto his ſafe cuſtodye, and none can ever be able to plucke us furthe of his hands. He hathe regeſterd our names in the boke of lyfe, in ſuche ſorte that the ſame ſhall never be raced out. In conſideration whereof, we have good cauſe to rejoice, to thanke God, and hartelye to love him; and, of love, unfaynedlye to doe whatſoever he willeth us to doe: for he loved us firſte.

"Fynallye, Chriſte teſtifyethe himſelfe. That it is not poſſible that the elect ſhoulde be deceaved. Verelye then, can they not be dampned" [i. e. damned]; "Therefore I confeſſe and beleve, with all my harte, ſoull, and mynde, that not one of all Godes elect children ſhall fynallye periſhe or be dampned. For God, who is their Father, both can and will preſerve, kepe, and defende them forever. For, ſeynge he is God, he wanteth no power to do it: and alſo, ſeynge he is their moſte deare lovynge Father, he lacketh no good will towardes them, I am ſure. How can it be, but he will perfourme their ſalvation to the uttermoſte, ſythe he wanteth neither power, nor good will, to do it?

"And this moſte heavenlye, true, and comfortable doctrine dothe not bringe with it a fleſhelye, idell, carnall, and careleſs lyfe, as ſome men unjuſtlye doe report of it: whoſe eyes God open, and pardon their ignorance and raſhe judgmentes. But rather it dothe mayntayne and bringe with it all true godlynes, and Chriſtian purite of lyfe, with moſte earneſte

earneſte thankefullnes of harte, in reſpecte of Godes greate mercye and lovynge kyndnes onlye.

" As for reprobation, I have nothinge to ſaye of it: for Sainte Paul ſaythe, what have we to doe with them that are without? The Lorde encreaſe our faythe and true feelynnge of our election.—— Notwithſtanding, as" [the goſpel] " is unto ſome the Savor of lyfe unto lyfe; even ſo is it, unto other ſome, the Savor of death unto death: as Chriſte himſelfe is, unto ſome, a rocke to ryſe bye; and to other ſome, a ſtone to ſtumble at."

Thus believed the primitive members of the Church of England. Thus held, and thus taught, thoſe Proteſtant worthies, who, when the truths of God were at ſtake, loved not their lives, unto death.

Let me once more obſerve (the remarks are very important, or I would not repeat them), that, by the acknowledgement even of Mr. Strype himſelf, 1. This confeſſion of faith was drawn up by Mr. Clement, at the deſire of the impriſoned Proteſtants in general:—2. That it was a declaration of their common belief:—3. That "Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Rogers, Saunders, and Bradford, ſealed the ſame" [i. e. the ſame doctrines which this confeſſion aſſerts] " with their own blood."—4. That this confeſſion " may be looked upon as an account of the belief of the Proteſtants in the times of king Edward, and of the profeſſors in thoſe days." Would to God, that the ſame creed was as generally held, in the days that are now!

Mr. Clement, whoſe pen was particularly employed in this laudable ſervice, has, in the concluding part of the above confeſſion, an obſervation or two, reſpecting himſelf, which breathe almoſt the very ſpirit of an apoſtle, " I doe not depende upon the judgement of any man, further than the ſame dothe agree with the true touchſtone, which is the Holye Scriptures: wherein (I thanke my Lorde God) I have

have bene continuallye exerciſed, even from my youthe up; as they, that have knowne my bringynge up, can tell: and ſome perſecution I have ſuffered for the ſame. And now it hath pleaſed God to make me a priſoner, for the teſtimonye thereof: and I thynke, that ſhortelye I muſt give my life for it, and ſo confyrme it with my bloude; whiche thynge I am well contented to doe. And I moſte heartelye thanke my Lorde Gode therefore: that is to ſaye, for this his ſpecyall gifte of perſecution for righteouſneſs ſake. And thoughe, for my ſynnes, God might juſtlye have condempned me to hell-fyre forever, and alſo have cauſed me to ſuffre bothe ſhame and perſecution in this lyfe, for evyll doynge; yet hathe he (of his greate mercye in Jeſus Chriſte, according to his owne good will and purpoſe) dealte more mercyfulle with me: as to geve me this grace and favor in his ſight, that I ſhall ſuffre perſecution of the wicked, with his elect people, for the teſtymonye of his truthe (*q*)."

This was dated in April, 1556. The good man did not long ſurvive. It was one of the laſt ſervices, which he rendered to the Church of God. He ſuppoſed, at the time of his writing the above, that he ſhould very ſpeedily be, literally, a burnt-offering to Chriſt: and he was ready to become ſo. But God had determined otherwiſe. His "burning was prevented, by his death in priſon: and he was buried at the back-ſide of the King's-bench, in a dunghill, June 25, [1556]. Where two days before, one Adheral was buried, who likewiſe died in the ſame priſon, and in the ſame cauſe. And, in the ſame priſon and cauſe, five days after, died John Careleſs: who was contumelioufly buried where the two others were (*r*)." Precious, in the ſight of the Lord, is the death of his ſaints.

(*q*) Strype, u. ſ. p. 223. (*r*) Strype, Ibid. p. 364.

Thus

Thus have I given a ſample (and it is but a ſample) of thoſe authentic atteſtations, which our martyrs bore, to the doctrines of the Church of England. And, even from theſe inſtances, 'tis manifeſt, that thoſe of our preſent clergy and laity, who have fallen in with Arminianiſm, have palpably revolted from thoſe grand truths for which our martyrs bled, and which our Church ſtill continues to aſſert in her liturgy, articles, and homilies.

Nor was the belief of the Calviniſtic principles confined to our biſhops, clergymen, and martyrs only. It was common to the main body of Proteſtants: i. e. to all who were not open, profeſſed diſſenters from the church. The Norfolk and Suffolk ſupplication, addreſſed to queen Mary's commiſſioners, may ſerve for one inſtance. In it, the Proteſtants of thoſe counties term the late king Edward "A moſt noble, virtuous, and innocent king; a very ſaint of God;" adding, that "The religion, ſet forth by him, is ſuch, as every Chriſtian man is bound to confeſs to be the truth of God." Again: "We certainly know, that the whole religion, ſet out by our late moſt dear king, is Chriſt's true religion, written in the Holy Scripture of God, and by Chriſt and his Apoſtles taught to his Church.—O merciful God have pity upon us! we may well lament our miſerable eſtate, to receive ſuch a commandment, to reject, and caſt out of our churches all theſe moſt godly prayers, [meaning the Engliſh liturgy], inſtructions, admonitions, and doctrines [meaning the homilies and articles] (*s*)." This religious remonſtrance, tho' it produced no good effect on the Popiſh queen and her commiſſioners; yet tends to ſhew, how tenaciouſly the members of our church embraced and held faſt her excellent principles.

An anonymous letter, ſent to Bonner, ſhews, that the writer of it was (and, at that time, what church

(*s*) Fox, vol. iii. p. 579, & ſequ.

of

of Englandman was not?) a Calviniſt. After diſſuading that inhuman prelate from perſiſting to imbrue his hands in the blood of the ſaints, it follows: "I ſay not this, for that I think thou canſt ſhorten any of God's elect children's lives before the time that God hath appointed by his divine will and pleaſure: but becauſe I would fain ſee ſome equity, &c. (*t*)."

I cannot better conclude the forgoing extracts from our martyrs, than by inſerting part of that admirable prayer, which ſeems to have been generally uſed by thoſe who poured out their ſouls in defence of the goſpel. It is intitled, "A Prayer, to be ſaid at the ſtake, of all them that God ſhall account worthy to ſuffer for his ſake." In it are theſe words: "I moſt humbly pray thee, that thou wouldſt aid, help, and aſſiſt me with thy heavenly grace: that with Chriſt thy Son, I may find comfort; with Stephen, I may ſee thy preſence and gracious power; with Paul, and all others who for thy name's ſake have ſuffered affliction and death, I may find ſo preſent with me thy gracious conſolations; that I may by my death glorify thy holy name, confirm thy church in thy verity, convert ſome that are to be converted, and ſo depart forth of this miſerable world, where I do nothing but daily heap ſin upon ſin.——Dear Father, whoſe I am, and always have been, even from my mother's womb; yea, even before the world was made (*u*)."

SECTION

(*t*) Strype, u. ſ. Append. p. 163.

(*u*) Fox, u. ſ. p. 498. Let it be obſerved, that, of thoſe who were impriſoned for the faith, all were not crowned with martyrdom: ſome were, by the good providence of God, reſerved to ſee better times.

Among theſe, was Mr. John Lithall: whoſe examination, before the biſhop of London's chancellor, is related by Mr. Fox.—"You boaſt much, every one of you," ſaid the chancellor to this holy priſoner, "of your faith and belief. Let me hear, therefore, how you believe." 'I believe,' anſwered Lithall, 'to be juſtified really by Chriſt Jeſus, without either deeds or works, or any thing that

SECTION XVIII.

The Re-Eſtabliſhment of the Church of England, *by Queen* Elizabeth.

QUEEN Mary's death, in November, 1558, quite changed the face of religious affairs in England. The princeſs Elizabeth, during the reign of her half-ſiſter, was ſo obnoxious to the latter, both on a domeſtic and a religious account, that her life had been in perpetual danger. Mary, whoſe politics were as contemptible, as her cruelty and ſuperſtition were deteſtable; would, more than once, have very willingly diſpatched Elizabeth to the other world. But this deſign was conſtantly over-ruled by king Philip. That Prince is ſuppoſed, by ſome, to have ſcreened Elizabeth, from an hope of marrying her himſelf, in caſe of Mary's death, whoſe ſtate of health grew continually worſe and

that may be invented by man," The chancellor replied, "Faith cannot ſave, without works."—'That,' rejoined Lithall, 'is contrary to the doctrine of the Apoſtles.'

The reverend Mr. John Melvin was alſo of the number, who, I believe, by ſome means or other, eſcaped burning. He was however, a priſoner in Newgate: and dated, from that priſon, a very valuable letter to his Chriſtian friends; in which he expreſſed himſelf as follows. "Moſt certain it is, dearly beloved, that Chriſt's elect be but few, in compariſon of that great number which go, in the broad way, into everlaſting perdition.——Moſt certain it is alſo, that our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt hath and knoweth his own, whoſe names are written in the book of life: redeemed with the moſt precious blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. So that the eternal Father knoweth them that be his.——Our Saviour loſeth none of all them whom the eternal Father hath given him.——[He died] the death of the croſs, for the ranſom and ſins of God's elect,"—See Fox, iii. 763. 845.

So unanimous were the Proteſtant Church of England men (thoſe who were burned, and thoſe who eſcaped), in believing, profeſſing, and holding faſt, the precious Calviniſtic doctrines of the Bible and of the Church.

worſe. This might poſſibly be one motive, to the protection which he gave the princeſs: for, after the deceaſe of queen Mary, Elizabeth was hardly ſeated on the throne, before Philip actually ſolicited her hand. But, probably, what operated moſt ſtrongly in Elizabeth's behalf, was, the cloſe connection that ſubſiſted between France and Scotland. So far back as the beginning of Edward VI's reign, the plan ſeems to have been laid, for the Dauphin's marriage to Mary queen of Scots: which projected marriage took effect in 1558. Philip knew, that, on the demiſe of his own queen, none (*x*) ſtood, between Mary of Scots and the crown of England, but Elizabeth. It was neceſſary, therefore, to preſerve Elizabeth alive; leſt France, in right of the Dauphineſs, ſhould be aggrandized by the addition of England and Ireland; which would have been throwing too much weight into the French ſcale.—It was, probably, owing to a ſimilar conſideration of policy, that in the ſucceeding century, Charles I, when prince of Wales, was ſuffered to return hither from Spain. In all likelihood, Philip IV. would have made the prince pay very dear for his romantic ramble to that court, if the king of Bohemia had not, in right of his conſort, been next heir to the crown of England.—Thus does the ſecret, but efficacious direction of divine providence, make even the political wiſdom of this world inſtrumental to the accompliſhment of the divine decrees!

When Elizabeth mounted the throne, the Church of England, with all its doctrinal Calviniſm, became, once more, the pure religion of this nation. The proofs are ſo numerous, that I muſt only abſtract a few.

(*x*) The ducheſs of Suffolk's deſcent is no exception to this remark; as her mother was but the younger daughter of Henry VII.

I. The

1. The Liturgy, the XXXIX Articles, and the ſupplementary Homilies added to thoſe of king Edward; are ſuch glaring evidences on the ſide of (*y*) Calviniſm, as might well ſupply the place of all

(*y*) If it be poſſible for any reaſonable being ſeriouſly to queſtion, whether thoſe eccleſiaſtical ſtandards are truly and thoroughly Calviniſtic; let him only peruſe, with more attention, the ſtandards themſelves. I ſhall here make no extracts from them: having already done it, partly, in my Caveat againſt Unſound Doctrines; and, more largely, in my Vindication of the Church from Arminianiſm. However, as I am now on the ſubject, let the remarks of Dr. Peter Heylyn (than whom a more outrageous Arminian never exiſted) ſtand, as a ſtriking monument of that irreſiſtible force, with which truth is ſometimes found, during certain intervals of ſober reflection, to irradiate and compel even the moſt perverſe and profligate minds. The remarks, which I here ſubjoin, conſiſt of inferences, deduced from the ſeventeenth article, which treats of predeſtination and election. If ſuch a writer, as Heylyn, ſhould be found to acknowledge, that the ſaid ſeventeenth article ſpeaks the undoubted language of Calvin; our wonder will be, not that the article ſhould ſpeak that language (for, of this, no conſiderate perſon can ſincerely doubt), but that ſo virulent a party-man, as Peter, ſhould, by any tranſient gleam of regard to veracity, publicly avow ſome of his real convictions, and tranſmit that avowal to poſterity.

"Predeſtination to life," ſays he, "is defined, in the 17th article, to be the everlaſting purpoſe of God, whereby before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath conſtantly decreed, by his counſel, ſecret to us, to deliver from damnation thoſe whom he hath choſen in Chriſt out of mankind, and to bring them by Chriſt to everlaſting ſalvation [as veſſels made to honour]. In which definition," adds Heylyn, "there are theſe things to be obſerved: 1. That predeſtination doth pre-ſuppoſe a curſe, or ſtate of damnation, in which all mankind was preſented to the ſight of God. 2. That it [viz. predeſtination to life, or the decree of election] is an act of his from everlaſting: becauſe, from everlaſting, he foreſaw that miſery into which wretched man would fall. 3. That he founded it, and reſolved for it, in the man and mediator Chriſt Jeſus, both for the purpoſe and performance. 4. That it was of ſome ſpecial ones alone; elect, called forth, and reſerved in Chriſt, and not generally extended unto all mankind. 5. That, being thus elected in Chriſt, they ſhall be brought by Chriſt to everlaſting ſalvation.—And, 6. That this counſel is ſecret to us: for tho' there be revealed to us ſome hopeful ſigns of our election and predeſtination to life, yet the certainty thereof is a ſecret hidden in God, &c."—Life of Laud, Introd. p. 29.

all evidence beſide. Theſe being ſo well known, I ſhall carry my appeal to other facts, which lie more out of the way of common notice.

II. The only commentary on the 39 articles, which was publiſhed in the reign of Elizabeth, is that of Mr. Thomas Rogers, rector of Horninger, in Suffolk. He dedicated it to archbiſhop Whitgift: by whom (ſays Fuller) it was countenanced (z)." A ſubſequent edition of it, in 1607, the author dedicated to archbiſhop Bancroft, whoſe Chaplain he was. As it is not a very ſcarce book, I ſhall make no tranſcripts from it: but only intimate that the Commentary does not (as is too often the caſe) vary from the text, but is perfectly and judiciouſly Calviniſtical, from beginning to end. The only people, to whom it gave offence in thoſe days, were Papiſts,

Though the above conceſſions are not entirely without their flaws, (or, at leaſt, a few ſmall Arminian cracks); yet it is amazing, that the cracks are ſo few and ſlight, when we conſider by what hand the ſix beads were ſtrung.

But the ſeventh bead is moſt wonderful of all. "Such," ſays the ſtringer, "is the Church's doctrine, in the point of election, or predeſtination unto life. But, in the point of reprobation, or predeſtination unto death, ſhe is" [to wit, in the ſeventeenth article] "utterly ſilent: leaving it to be gathered upon logical inferences from that which is delivered by her in the point of election. For *contrariorum contraria eſt ratio*, as logicians ſay. Though that which is ſo gathered, ought rather to be called a dereliction, than a reprobation." Ibid. p. 30.

We will not quarrel with Peter, about the term reprobation.—— Dereliction includes as much reprobation as need be contended for. And I wiſh Dr. Heylyn may not be reprobated by Mr. Weſley, for conceding, that "reprobation, or predeſtination unto death," is to be "gathered" by "logical inferences," from the XVIIth article.

To make up a round number, Peter ſhall annex an eighth bead to the preceding ſeven. He very juſtly obſerves, that the prayer, in which our Church beſeeches God "to accompliſh the number of his elect," doth "conclude both for a number, and for a certain number, of God's elect." Miſcel. Tr. p. 559.——Query: Was not Peter, during ſome luminous moments, "derelicted" by Arminianiſm, and taken captive by truth? I wiſh, Mr. Weſley and his man Sellon may profit by the example, be ſeized in like ſort, and permanently experience the ſame "dereliction."

(z) Church Hiſt. b. ix. p. 173.

Preſbyterians,

Preſbyterians, and ſuch as leaned to either of thoſe extremes. Now, I would aſk, whether a profeſſedly predeſtinarian analyſis and expoſition of the 39 articles, dedicated to two archbiſhops of Canterbury, and approved by both of them; is not one concluſive proof, that doctrinal Calviniſm was, all through the reign of Elizabeth, and in the beginning of James I. conſidered as the true and undoubted ſyſtem of the Church of England?

III. The marginal notes, which occur in the Bibles that were publiſhed during Elizabeth's reign, unanſwerably prove the ſame point. Obſerve, I ſpeak not of the Geneva Bible, tranſlated, commented on, and publiſhed by the Engliſh who had been exiles in that city: which edition, however valuable on ſome accounts, was never received as authentic by the Church and State of England. But I ſpeak of ſuch Bibles, and of ſuch only, as paſſed the review of the leading eccleſiaſtics at home, and came out by the warrant and under the ſanction of "The queen's moſt excellent majeſty."

Of theſe warranted Bibles there were, principally, three kinds. The firſt was commonly denominated, The Great Bible. Another went by name of The Biſhop's Bible. The third was the Quarto Bible, for the uſe of families.

(1.) Of the Great Bible, otherwiſe called, Archbiſhop Cranmer's Bible, there had been more than one edition, antecedently to the acceſſion of queen Elizabeth. It was completed for the preſs, A. D. 1537, in or about the 28th year of Henry VIII's reign. It was by lord Cromwell's intereſt with the king, that Cranmer obtained the royal licence to tranſlate and publiſh the Scriptures: and this was the firſt Engliſh Bible, that was printed by authority. "The care of the tranſlation lay wholly on Cranmer; aſſigning little portions of this holy book to divers biſhops and learned men to do. And, to his inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, he ſaw the work finiſhed in this

year (1537), about July or Auguſt (*a*)." When the care of the tranſlation is ſaid to have lain wholly on archbiſhop Cranmer, we muſt underſtand no more, by that expreſſion, than that Cranmer, on this occaſion, reviſed and corrected the tranſlation made, ſix or ſeven years before, by Mr. William Tyndal the martyr. This appears, not only on comparing the text of Cranmer's, or the great Bible, with the text of Tyndal's; but is alſo noted, by the exactly careful compiler of Cranmer's Hiſtory. The Bible, as Fox ſpeaks, had been printed in the year 1532, and reprinted again three or four years after. The printers were Grafton and Whitchurch, who printed it at Hamburgh. The corrector (of the preſs) was John Rogers, a learned divine, afterwards a canon of St. Paul's, in king Edward's time, and the firſt martyr in the next reign (viz. in the reign of Mary). The tranſlator was William Tyndal, another learned martyr; with the help of Miles Coverdale, afterwards biſhop of Exeter. But, before all this ſecond edition was finiſhed, Tyndal was taken and put to death for his religion, in Flanders, in the year 1536, and his name then growing into ignominy, as one burnt for an heretic; they [i. e. the printers] thought it might prejudice the book, if he ſhould be named for the tranſlator thereof: and ſo they uſed a feigned name; calling it Thomas Matthews's Bible.——In this Bible were certain prologues (prefixed at the head of the reſpective books) and a ſpecial table collected of the common places in the Bibles, and texts of Scripture for proving the ſame; and chiefly the common places of the Lord's Supper, the marriage of prieſts and the maſs: of which [i. e. of the maſs] it was there ſaid, that it was not to be found in Scripture. This Bible giving the (Popiſh) clergy offence, was gotten to be reſtrained. Some years after, came forth the Bible aforeſaid [i. e. the

(*a*) Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 57.

Great

Great Bible, otherwiſe termed, Cranmer's], wherein Cranmer had the greateſt hand: which, as I ſuppoſe, was nothing but the former [i. e. Tyndal's] corrected; the prologues and tables being left out (*b*)."

So much for the origin of Cranmer's Bible. Let us now conſult that Bible itſelf: which (beſides the light it will throw on our general argument) will contribute, not a little, to confirm what has been already aſſerted and proved, concerning the Calviniſm of that great and good archbiſhop.

Though Cranmer's, or the Great Bible, was prepared for publication in 1537, I cannot find that it was actually publiſhed till 1539. It is a very ſcarce and curious book: of which, however, I have been able to procure a ſight. It is entitled, "The Byble in Englyſhe, &c. prynted by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, 1539." It is a large folio, on a black letter, ornamented with ſmall wooden cuts; and divided into chapters, but not into verſes. The margin has Scripture references, but no expoſitory notes. The deficiency of notes is remedied by a ſummary of contents, placed at the head of each chapter. From a ſample of which ſummaries, archbiſhop Cranmer appears to have been, even at that early period, much enlightened into the doctrines of grace.

The contents to Rom. iii. run thus: "Both the Jewes and Gentyls are under ſynne, and are juſtyfyed only by the grace of God in Chryſt."

Contents to Rom. iv. "He [i. e. St. Paul] declareth, by the example of Abraham, that fayth juſtyfyeth, and not the lawe, nor the workes thereof."

In the prefixed "ſumme and content of all the Holy Scripture," good Cranmer obſerves, that God is he, "Of whom all thinges proceade; and without whom ther is nothynge which is ryghteous and mercyful; and who worketh all thyngs in all, after

(*b*) Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 58, 59.

hys wyll: of whom it maye not be demaunded, wherefore he doth thys or that." The reader will not conſider the above extracts as an abſolute digreſſion from the times of queen Elizabeth, when he recollects that the Great Bible, and two others which are next to be mentioned, were the current Bibles in the beginning of her reign; 'till the ſcarcity and dearneſs of theſe occaſioned the publication of what was called the Biſhops' Bible.

The other two, which appeared before Elizabeth's acceſſion, were, the folio edition, of 1549; and the quarto edition, of 1552. Both printed in the reign of king Edward VI. and under the care of archbiſhop Cranmer. Theſe, likewiſe, I have conſulted; and from them I copy the paſſages hereafter given.

That of 1549, is on a ſmall, neat, ſlenderly-blackiſh letter, ſomewhat approaching toward the Saxon ſtyle of character. It is dedicated to king Edward, and has prologues to the reſpective books of both Teſtaments. The marginal notes being exceeding few, I ſhall give proof of the pure divinity, which then obtained among the Proteſtants of the Church of England, from the valuable "table of the principal matters," which runs alphabetically, and is prefixed to the Old Teſtament.—Under the head of election, we thus read: "Our eleccyon is by grace, and not by workes. Few are electe, or choſen. We are electe of God the Father, thorow his good wil, before the conſtucyon of the world, that by the grace and merite of Chriſt, we ſhould have health [i. e. ſalvation], ſerving al men by charite. The elect cannot be accuſed, foraſmuch as God juſtifieth them." Under the head of predeſtination, we read thus: "The predeſtinate are ſainctes, or holy people, made lyke to the image of the ſonne of God, and called, juſtifyed, and glorifyed by him. God had predeſtynate, before the makyng of the world, for to redeme us by the bloud of his ſonne, for to ſave, and make us hys chyldren by

by adopcyon, accordynge to the purpoſe of his wyl. The carnal and ſenſual people cannot comprehende the eleccyon and predeſtinacyon of God: becauſe they ſtryve for to ſave themſelves, by theyr owne workes and merites; whych cannot be." Under the article of will, it is affirmed, that the will of God is immutable, and the which no man can reſiſt. And, under the head of perſeverance, or continuance in grace, it is aſſerted, that perſeverance in the truth is geven of Chriſt unto the faithful. Thus ſpeaks Cranmer's Bible of 1549.

The quarto edition, of 1552, is on a black letter, with wooden cuts; divided into chapters, but not into verſes. The tranſlation appears to be Tyndal's. In this curious Bible (which was re-printed under Elizabeth, in 1566), a note, ſubjoined to the 3d chapter of Romans, runs thus: "God, in his lawe, doth not onely requyre of us an outward ryghteweſnes, but alſo an inward perfection. That is to ſaye, we are not onely bounde to fulfyll the workes of the lawe, outwardly, in our lyvinge; but, alſo, inwardly, in our heartes: to be moſt ſyncere; to love God entirely, above all thinges; and our neyghbours as ourſelves. But our nature is ſo corrupted, that no man living is able to do the ſame. Wherefore no man can be juſtified by the workes of the lawe."—The note to Rom. ix. is this: "It is evident by this texte, that our workes or merytes do not juſtifye us, but that our ſalvation doth wholly depende upon the free election of God; whiche, beynge the ryghteweſnes itſelfe, doth choſe whome it pleſeth hym unto lyfe everlaſtynge." The note to Rom. xi. is: "God doth preſerve his elect, even in the middeſt of thouſandes of idolaters." Thus wrote Cranmer, and our other biſhops, in 1552.

(2.) Come we now to the Biſhops' Bible: emphatically ſo called, becauſe it was ſet on foot, promoted, and completed, chiefly under the auſpicies of Parker, the firſt Proteſtant archbiſhop of Canterbury

bury after Cranmer. A beginning was made in it, A. D. 1565, and the ſeventh of Elizabeth: but the work was not publiſhed, 'till 1568. The other principal prelates, concerned in this edition, were, Sandes, then biſhop of Worceſter; Gueſt, biſhop of Rocheſter; Parkhurſt, biſhop of Norwich; Davies, biſhop of St. Davids; and Cox, biſhop of Ely (*c*). This is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt Engliſh Bible, whoſe chapters were ſub-divided into verſes. It is a large folio, on a black letter; and, in fact, no more than an improved edition of Cranmer's, or the Great Bible, already mentioned. I have not had it in my power to ſee the original edition of this the Biſhops' Bible, printed in 1568. What I have conſulted, is a re-publication of it, ſix years afterwards; viz. the edition of 1574, illuſtrated with archbiſhop Parker's arms and preface, and Cranmer's original preface annexed.

Queen Elizabeth's prelates did by no means warp from the doctrinal purity of their Proteſtant predeceſſors under the bleſſed king Edward. Witneſs the following paſſages, which occur in the preface to the New Teſtament of the Biſhops' Bible. "By him [i. e. by Chriſt] hath he [i. e. God the Father] decreed to geve, to his elect, the lyfe everlaſting." And again, "Here may we beholde the eternal legacies of the New Teſtament, bequeathed from God the Father, in Chriſte his ſonne, to all his electes."

In what is entitled, "the Summe of the whole Scripture," prefixed (as it was alſo to Cranmer's own edition of 1539), it is obſerved, that God is he "from whom al thinges do come; without whom, there is nothing at al:——who alſo worketh al in al, after his owne wyl; to whom it is not lawful to ſay, wherefore he doth thus or thus."

On Rom. iii. 20, the note is, "He includeth here the whole lawe, both ceremonial and moral;

(*c*) See Strype's Life of archbiſhop Parker, p. 208, 209.

whoſe

whoſe workes cannot juſtifie, becauſe they be imperfect in al men."

On Rom. ix. 11. "The wyl and purpoſe of God is the cauſe of the election and reprobation: for his mercy and calling, through Chriſt, are the meanes of ſalvation; and the withdrawing of his mercy is the cauſe of damnation."

On Rom. x. 4. "Chriſte hath fulfilled the whole lawe; and therefore, whoſoever believeth in him, is counted juſt before God, as wel as (if) he had fulfilled the whole lawe himſelfe."

On Rom. xi. 35. "By this the apoſtle declareth, that God, by his free wyl and election, doth geve ſalvation unto menne, without any deſertes of theyr owne."

On 1 Pet. i. 2. "The free election of God is the efficient cauſe of our ſalvation: the material cauſe, is Chriſte's obedience."

On 2 Pet. i. 10. "Albeit it [viz. election] be ſure in itſelfe, foraſmuche as God cannot change; yet we muſt confirm it in ourſelves" [i. e. we ſhould get a ſubjective aſſurance of our election], "by the fruite of the ſpirite: knowing, that the purpoſe of God electeth, calleth, ſanctifieth, and juſtifieth us."—So ſpake theſe excellent prelates, in the famous Biſhops' Bible.

(3.) The Quarto Bible, publiſhed in queen Elizabeth's reign, appears to have been deſigned as a ſtill farther improvement on the preceding. Though the explicatory notes are more numerous and diffuſe, yet the reduction of the type, and the conſequent reduction of the ſize, rendered it cheaper than the former editions; and, of courſe, better calculated for private and domeſtic uſe.

Of this Bible, the firſt edition (according to Strype) appeared in 1576 (*d*). Another in 1582 (*e*).

(*d*) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 458—edit. 1735.
(*e*) Ibid. vol. iii. p. 157.

That

That which I have now before me, is the edition of 1602, publiſhed by Barker the queen's own printer. The marginal remarks, and ſome other matters, with which this preſents us, will prove, that Calviniſm continued to flouriſh in the Church of England (i. e. the church continued to abide by her own fundamental principles), to the very cloſe of Elizabeth's life: for the reader need not be reminded, that 1602 was the laſt year of that queen's reign.

From this Bible I extract the following notes; in lieu of a multitude, which might be cited.

On Matth. xi. 26, the remark is: "Faith cometh not of man's will, or power; but by the ſecret illumination of God, which is the declaration of his eternal counſel."

On Matth. viii. 31. "The Devil deſireth ever to doe harme: but he can do no more than God doeth appoint.

On Matth. ix. 37. 'tis obſerved, that Chriſt compares "the number of the elect to a plentiful harveſt."

On Matth. xxi. 33. "The vineyard is the people whom he had elected."

On Matth. xxv. 34. "Hereby God declareth the certainty of our predeſtination; whereby we are ſaved becauſe we were choſen in Chriſt before the foundations of the world."

On the 35th verſe of the ſame chapter: "Chriſt meaneth not that our ſalvation dependeth on our works, or merits; but teacheth, what it is to live juſtly according to godlineſſe and charitie; and that God recompenſeth his, of his free mercy, likewiſe as he doth elect them."

Matth. xxvi. 24. "To the intent his diſciples might know, that all this" [viz. the ſufferings and crucifixion of Chriſt] "was appointed by the providence of God."

Mark iv. 9. "God doth not open all men's hearts to underſtand his myſteries."——And 'tis, preſently

preſently after, added, that there are ſome, meaning the reprobate, who, "attaine not to the pith and ſubſtance" [of religion], "but onely ſtay in the outward rinde and barke."

Mark xiii. 22. "The elect may waver and be troubled, but they cannot utterly be deceived and overcome."

Mark xiv. 21. "This declareth, that nothing can be done without God's providence."

On the 49th verſe of the ſame chapter: "which declareth, that no man can do any thing contrary to God's ordinance."

Luke i. 30. "Not for her merits, but onely through God's free mercy, who loved us when we were ſinners, that whoſoever rejoiceth ſhould rejoice in the Lord."

On verſe 32. Chriſt "is the true Sonne of God, begotten from before all beginning; and manifeſted in the fleſh, at the determinate time."

Luke vii. 35. "He [i. e. Chriſt] ſheweth, that the wicked, altho' they turne from God, ſhall nothing hinder the elect to continue in the faith of the goſpel."

Luke viii. 3. "Whereby they acknowledged they had received of him; and alſo ſhewed their perſeverance, which prooved their knowledge to be of God."—Such, therefore, as do not perſevere, were never made wiſe with the knowledge, that cometh from God.

Luke x. 21. "He [Chriſt] attributeth it to the free election of God, that the wiſe and wordlings know not the goſpel, and yet the poore baſe people underſtand it."

On verſe 31, the phraſe, "by chance," is thus interpreted: "So it ſeemed to man's judgment; altho' this was ſo appointed by God's counſel and providence."

Luke xvii. 37. "Nothing can hinder the faithful to be joined to their head, Jeſus Chriſt."

Luke

Luke xxii. 22. The text ſays, truely the Sonne of man goeth as it is appointed: the commentary adds, "by the ſecret counſel of God."

Luke xxiii. 35. The text calls Chriſt the choſen of God. On which, the marginal note thus remarks: "Whom God hath before all others appointed to be the Meſſias. Otherwiſe, the Scripture calleth them the elect of God, whom hee hath choſen, before all beginning, to life everlaſting."

Luke xxiv. 16. "This declareth, that we can neither ſee nor underſtand, 'till God open our eyes."

Verſe 28. "Chriſt did both ſhut their eyes, and open them: he would keepe them in ſuſpence, 'till his time came to manifeſt himſelf unto them."

John iv. 14. "He" [i. e. the true believer] "ſhall never be dried up, or deſtitute."

John vi. 37. "God doeth regenerate his elect, and cauſeth them to obey the goſpel."

John vii. 33. Chriſt "ſheweth unto them, that they have no power over him, 'till the time come that his Father hath ordained."

John x. 15. "As the Father cannot forget him" [i. e. cannot forget Chriſt himſelf,] "no more can he forget us."

Verſe 17. "Chriſt, even in that he is man, hath deſerved his Father's love and everlaſting life, not to his fleſh onely, but to us alſo, who, by his obedience and perfect juſtice" [i. e. perfect righteouſneſs,] "are imputed righteous."

Verſe 26. The text ſays, ye believe not, for yee are not of my ſheepe; i. e. becauſe ye are not in the number of my elect. The marginal note judiciouſly ſays, "The cauſe wherefore the reprobate cannot believe."

John xiv. 21. "He" [i. e. the aſſured believer] "ſhall ſenſibly feele, that the grace of God abideth in him."

John xvii. 3. The text runs, that hee ſhould give eternal life to all them that thou haſt

given

given him. The margin ſays: "which are the elect."

Verſe 6. "Our election ſtandeth in the good pleaſure of God, which is the only foundation and cauſe of our ſalvation; and is declared to us in Chriſt, through whom we are juſtified by faith, and ſanctified."

Verſe 12. The text ſtyles Judas a child of perdition. The marginal note ſays, that "He was ſo called, not only becauſe he periſhed, but becauſe God had appointed and ordained him to this end."

Verſe 19. "Chriſt's holineſſe is our's."

On Acts ii. 23, the obſervations are: "God cauſed their wickedneſſe" [i. e. the wickedneſs of Chriſt's betrayer and crucifiers] "to ſet foorth his glory, contrary to their mindes. As Judas's treaſon, and their crueltie toward Chriſt, were moſt deteſtable; ſo were they not only knowen to the eternall wiſdome of God, but alſo directed, by his immutable counſel, to a moſt bleſſed ende."

On chap. iv. 21. "God hath put a ring thorow the wicked's noſes, ſo that he ſtayeth them from their miſchievous purpoſes."——Was it not a little unmannerly in queen Elizabeth's biſhops, to repreſent ſovereign free-willers as a company of bears, reſtrained by the decree, and led captive by providence, with rings in their noſes?

On the 28th verſe of the ſame chapter, the right reverend commentators ſcruple not to affirm, that "All things are done by the force of God's purpoſe, according to the decree of his will."

Chap. xiii. 48. "None can beleeve, but they whom God doth appoynt, before all beginnings, to be ſaved."

In a ſhort, but excellent preface, prefixed to the Epiſtle to the Romans, and entitled, "The Argument;" the heads of the Church of England thus expreſſed themſelves: "The great mercie of God is declared towards man in Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe righte-

ouſneſſe

ouſneſſe is made our's by faith. For, when man, by reaſon of his owne corruption, could not fullfill the law; yea, committed moſt abominably, both againſt the law of God and nature; the infinite bountie of God ordeined, that man's ſalvation ſhould only ſtand in the perfit obedience of his Sonne Jeſus Chriſt.——And to the intent that none ſhould thinke, that the covenant which God made to him [i. e. with Abraham] and his poſteritie, was not performed; either becauſe the Jewes received not Chriſt, or els beleeved not that he was the true Redeemer;—the examples of Iſmael and Eſau declare, that all are not Abraham's poſteritie, which come of Abraham according to the fleſh:—the very ſtrangers and Gentiles, grafted in by faith, are made heires of the promiſe. The cauſe whereof is the only will of God; foraſmuch, of his free mercy, he electeth ſome to be ſaved, and, of his juſt judgement, rejecteth others to be damned: as appeareth by the teſtimonie of the Scriptures."

From theſe introductory remarks, the reader may ſufficiently aſcertain the complection of thoſe ſubſequent notes on the epiſtle itſelf, with which the Calviniſtic prelates ennobled its margin. For brevity's ſake, let the few following ſtand for all.

Rom. ii. 11. There is no reſpect of perſons with God: "As touching any outward qualitie" [ſuch as high birth, learning, riches, &c.] "But, as the potter, before he make his veſſels, he doeth appoynt ſome to glory and others to ignominie."

Chap. iv. 4. Now to him that worketh not, &c. "That dependeth not on his works, neither thinketh to merite by them."

Ibid. ver. 25. Chriſt was raiſed "To accompliſh and make perfect our juſtification."

Chap. v. 17. "The juſtice" [*juſtitia*, i. e. the righteouſneſs] "of Jeſus Chriſt, which is imputed to the faithfull."

Chap. viii. 35. Who ſhall ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt? "Wherewith he loved us, or God

in

in Chriſt: which love is grounded on his determinate purpoſe; and Chriſt is the pledge thereof."

Chap. xi. 29. "To whom God giveth his ſpirit of adoption, and whom he calleth effectually, he cannot periſh: for God's eternal counſel never changeth."

2 Cor. iii. 3. "The hardneſſe of man's heart, before he be regenerate, is as a ſtonie table, Ezek. ii. 19. and xxxvi. 26. But, being regenerate by the ſpirit of God, it is as ſoft as fleſh; that the grace of the goſpel may be written in it, as in new tables."

Ibid. verſe 9. "The goſpel declareth, that Chriſt is made our righteouſneſs."

Ibid. verſe 13. "The Jews' eyes were not lightned, but blinded; and ſo could not come to Chriſt."

Chap. v. 21. The text ſays, that we are made the righteouſneſs of God in Chriſt: the margin adds, "by imputation."

On Galat. i. 7. "What is more contrary to our free juſtification by faith, than the juſtification by the law; or [by] our workes? Therefore, to joyne theſe together, is to joyne light with darkneſſe, death with life; and doeth utterly overthrow the goſpel."

Ibid. iii. 12. "The law——condemneth all them which in all points doe not fulfill it." And how is this condemnation to be eſcaped? By our own righteouſneſs? Certainly not. For our own works do not "in all points fulfill" the law. But by the imputation of Chriſt's righteouſneſs, who actually did "fulfill" the law, and that "in all points."

Epheſ. i. 4. "This election, to life everlaſting, can never bee changed. But, in temporal offices, which God hath appointed for a certaine ſpace, when the term is expired, he changeth his election: as we ſee in Saul and Judas."

Ibid. verſe 23. "That is the great love of Chriſt toward his church, that he counteth not himſelf perfect without us which are his members: and therefore the church is alſo called Chriſt [i. e. Chriſt myſtical], as 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13."

Titus iii. 5. "God doth not juſtify us for reſpect of any thing which he ſeeth in us: but doeth prevent us [i. e. he is beforehand with us] with his grace, and freely accepteth us."—So, chap. i. 2. God hath promiſed eternal life before the world began, "Of his meere liberalitie, without foreſeeing our faith of works as a cauſe to move him to this free mercie."

On James ii. 14, The note is: "St. Paul, to the Romanes and Galatians, diſputeth againſt them which attributed juſtification to works; and here St. James reaſoneth againſt them which utterly condemne workes. Therefore Paul ſheweth the cauſes of our juſtification; and James, the effects. There [i. e. in Paul's Epiſtles], it is declared, how we are juſtified: here [i. e. in James's Epiſtle], howe wee are knowen to be juſtified. There, works are excluded, as not the cauſe of our juſtification: here, they are approoved, as effects proceeding thereof. There, they [i. e. good works] are denied to go before them that ſhall be juſtified: and here they are ſayd to follow them that are juſtified."

Ibid. verſe 22. "The more his [i. e. Abraham's] faith was declared by his obedience and good works, the more was it knowen to men to be perfect; as the goodneſſe of a tree is knowen by her good fruite: otherwiſe, no man can have perfection in this world; for every man muſt pray for remiſſion of ſinnes, and increaſe of faith."

2 Pet. i. 10. Give diligence to make your calling and election ſure: "Albeit it be ſure in itſelfe, foraſmuch as God cannot change; yet we muſt confirme it in ourſelves, by the fruits of the ſpirit: knowing, that the purpoſe of God electeth, calleth, ſanctifyeth, and juſtifyeth us."

Jude

Jude 4. "He confirmeth their heart, againſt the contemners of religion, and apoſtates; ſhewing, that ſuch men trouble not the church at all adventures, but are appointed thereunto by the determinate counſel of God."

Thus ſpeak the excellent prelates, who were concerned in the editions of our Proteſtant Bibles, publiſhed *cum privilegio Regiæ majeſtatis.*

IV. The profeſſed Calviniſm of our church may be farther argued, from the learned and orthodox Francis Junus's Commentary on the Book of Revelation, bound up with the Bibles of thoſe times. One citation from which commentary ſhall here ſuffice.—Rev. xiii. 8. whoſe names are not written in the booke of life, &c. "That is," ſays Junius, "ſuch as are not, from everlaſting, elected in Chriſt Jeſus." Let it be obſerved, that this was the ſame Junius, who overthrew Arminius, in a debate concerning free-will; the particulars of which debate were tranſmitted, at large, to poſterity (*f*).

V. The queſtions and anſwers concerning predeſtination, inſerted into the authorized Bibles of that age, are another proof, that the doctrines of Calvin were owned to be the doctrines of our eſtabliſhment.

Mr. Strype was able to trace up the inſertion of theſe queſtions and anſwers into queen Elizabeth's Bibles, as far as the year 1582 (*g*) (and I myſelf have lately ſeen an edition of 1583, wherein thoſe queſtions and anſwers ſtand); a period, twenty years earlier than that, in which the edition, which I am now making uſe of, was printed. That hiſtorian, whoſe fidelity, in his relation of facts, is unimpeachable, is not always very happy in his conjectures. The

(*f*) Arminius's children, of whom nine ſurvived him, were ſo unaccountably weak, as to inſert this diſpute into their father's works.—Vide Arminii Opera, à pag. 445. ad pag. 610.——Edit. Lugd. 1629.

(*g*) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 157.

queſtions and anſwers, ſays he, were "joined to the Bible without any public licence and authority, as it ſeems (*b*)." I am perſuaded, that, had the vaſt multitude of materials, which this induſtrious compiler was digeſting into an orderly ſeries, allowed him leiſure for due conſideration, it would have "ſeemed" even to himſelf, utterly impoſſible for the ſaid queſtions and anſwers to have crept into theſe editions of the Bible, "without public licence and authority," under the government of a queen ſo tenderly jealous of her eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, and amidſt that unrelaxing vigilance for which both her council and her biſhops were ſo remarkable. Can any body coolly ſuppoſe, that, at ſuch a time, her majeſty's own publiſher would have ventured to fly in the face of church and ſtate, by foiſting in theſe queſtions, without proper authority? "Oh, but the authority is no where recorded." Nor was there any reaſon why it ſhould, in a caſe ſo palpably plain. The ſimple circumſtance of their being admitted there at all, is proof enough, that they were admitted by authority.———But, ſuppoſing it even poſſible, that they might have ſtolen in at firſt; would not the intruſion have been preſently detected? And would not the queſtions and anſwers, if real interlopers, have been diſplaced from the ſubſequent editions? Would they have been permitted to keep their ſtation, all through the remainder of queen Elizabeth's reign (for more than twenty years elapſed, from their firſt inſertion, to the death of that princeſs), if they had not been introduced by due licence? And would they have been, moreover, continued in all the editions of the Bible, which were publiſhed, after her deceaſe, during the firſt twelve years (at leaſt) of her ſucceſſor king James?

Come we now to the queſtions and anſwers themſelves.

(*b*) Ibid.

In

In the editions of 1583, 1602, and 1614, I find them prefixed to the New Teſtament. The title they bear, is,

"Certaine queſtions and anſweres, touching the doctrine of predeſtination, the uſe of God's word, and ſacraments."

They begin thus:

"Queſtion. Why do men ſo much vary in matters of religion?

"Anſwere. Becauſe all have not the like meaſure of knowledge, neither do all beleeve the goſpel of Chriſt.

"Queſt. What is the reaſon thereof?

"Anſw. Becauſe they only beleeve the goſpel and doctrine of Chriſt, which are ordained unto eternall life.

"Queſt. Are not all ordained unto eternall life?

"Anſw. Some are veſſels of wrath, ordained unto deſtruction; as others are veſſels of mercie prepared to glory.

"Queſt. How ſtandeth it with God's juſtice, that ſome are appointed unto damnation?

"Anſw. Very well: becauſe all men have in themſelves ſinne, which deſerveth no leſs. And therefore the mercy of God is wonderfull, in that he vouchſafeth to ſave ſome of that ſinfull race, and to bring them to the knowledge of the trueth.

"Queſt. If God's ordinance and determination muſt of neceſſitie, take effect; then, what need any man to care? for hee, that liveth well, muſt needs be damned, if hee be thereunto ordained; and hee, that liveth ill, muſt needs be ſaved, if he be thereunto appointed?

"Anſw. Not ſo: For it is not poſſible, that either the elect ſhould alwayes be without care to doe well; or that the reprobate ſhould have any will thereunto. For, to have either good will, or good worke, is a teſtimonie of the ſpirit of God, which is given to the elect onely; whereby faith is

ſo wrought in them, that, being graft in Chriſt, they grow in holineſſe to that glory whereunto they are appointed. Neither are they ſo vaine, as once to thinke that they may doe as they liſte themſelves, becauſe they are predeſtinate unto ſalvation; but rather they endeavour to walke in ſuch good workes, as God in Chriſt Jeſus had ordained them unto, and prepared for them to bee occupied in, to their owne comfort, ſtay, and aſſurance, and to his glory.

" Queſt. But how ſhall I know myſelf to be one of thoſe whom God hath ordained to life eternal?

" Anſw. By the motions of ſpirituall life, which belong onely to the children of God: by the which, that life is perceived, even as the life of this body is diſcerned by the ſenſe and motions thereof.

" Queſt. What meane you, by the motions of ſpirituall life?

" Anſw. I meane remorſe of conſcience, joined with the lothing of ſinne, and love of righteouſneſſe: the hand of faith reaching unto life eternall in Chriſt, the conſcience comforted in diſtreſſe, and raiſed up to confidence in God, by the worke of his ſpirit: a thankfull remembrance of God's benefits received, and the uſing of all adverſities as occaſion of amentment ſent from God.

" Queſt. Cannot ſuch periſh, as at ſome time or other feele theſe motions within themſelves?

" Anſw. It is not poſſible that they ſhould: for, as God's purpoſe is not changeable, ſo hee repenteth not of the gifts and graces of his adoption; neither doth hee caſt off thoſe whom he hath once received.

" Queſt. Why then ſhould we pray, by the example of David, that he caſt us not from his face, and that hee take not his holy ſpirit from us?

" Anſw. In ſo praying, we make proteſtation of the weakneſſe of [our] fleſh, which mooveth us to doubt: yet ſhould not wee have courage to aſke,

if

if wee were not aſſured, that God will give according to his purpoſe and promiſe, that which we require.

" Queſt. Doe the children of God feele the motions aforeſaid, alwayes alike?

" Anſw. No, truly: for God, ſometime, to prove his, ſeemeth to leave them in ſuch ſort, that the fleſh overmatcheth the ſpirit; whereof ariſeth trouble of conſcience, for the time. Yet the ſpirit of adoption is never taken from them, that have once received it: elſe might they periſh. But as, in many diſeaſes of the body, the powers of bodily life are letted; ſo, in ſome aſſaults, theſe motions of ſpirituall life are not perceived, becauſe they lye hidden in our manifold infirmitys, as the fire covered with aſhes. Yet as, after ſickneſſe, commeth health; and, after cloudes, the ſunne ſhineth cleare; ſo the powers of ſpirituall life will, more or leſſe, be felt and perceived, in the children of God.

" Queſt. What if I never feele theſe motions in myſelf? Shall I deſpaire, and thinke myſelf a caſtaway?

" Anſw. God forbid. For God calleth his, at what time hee ſeeth good: and the inſtruments, whereby he uſually calleth, have not the like effect at all times. Yet, it is not good to neglect the meanes, whereby God hath determined to work the ſalvation of his. For as waxe is not melted, without heate; nor clay hardened, but by meanes thereof; ſo God uſeth meanes, both to draw thoſe unto himſelfe, whom hee hath appoynted unto ſalvation, and alſo to bewray the wickedneſſe of them whom he juſtly condemneth."——The remainder of theſe learned and maſterly queſtions and anſwers well deſerve to be tranſcribed: but what have been now alledged, are ſufficient to prove the purpoſe for which I bring them.

VI. A judicious little tractate (the work, originally, of pious biſhop Cranmer), bound up like-

wiſe with the Bibles of this reign, ſtill continued to demonſtrate the Calviniſm of the church. It is entitled, 'The Summe of the whole Scripture of the Bookes of the Old and New Teſtament.' Under the article God, this valuable compendium of ſcripture-doctrine expreſsly aſſerts, as uſual, that he "worketh all in all, after his owne will; to whom it is not lawful to ſay, wherefore doth hee thus or thus?"—It affirms, that, in conſequence of Adam's original tranſgreſſion, "We, which be ſprong from him by the fleſh, bee in nature the children of wrath, made ſubject to thrall and death, to damnation, to the yoke and tyranny of the Devill."—It maintains, that, by Chriſt's oblation of himſelf, "All ſinne" is "blotted out, and quite put away:" and, that the ſpirit of God, and the Scriptures of truth, are given, in order to lead us to Chriſt, "that wee, believing, mought have, in his name, life everlaſting."

VII. Nor can I omit the mention of ſome excellent prayers, deſigned for private uſe, and then bound up at the end of the liturgy. Two of theſe ſhall here anſwer for the reſt. The collect for Sunday, was this: "O Almightie and mercifull Lord, which giveſt unto thy elect people the Holy Ghoſt, as a ſure pledge of thy heavenly kingdome; grant unto us, O Lord, thy holy ſpirit, that he may beare witneſſe with our ſpirit that we be thy children, and heires of thy kingdome: and that, by the operation of this ſpirit, we may kill all carnal luſtes, unlawfull pleaſures, concupiſences, evill affections, contrary unto thy will; by our Savior and Lord Jeſu Chriſt. Amen."

The other, which I ſhall cite, is part of that moſt admirable ſupplication, entitled, 'A Prayer to to be ſaid at the Houre of Death.' And I beſeech God, that Mr. Weſley, Mr. Sellon, and myſelf, may be enabled, at that important criſis, to expire, under the full impreſſion of the gracious ſentiments

with

with which it is fraught. "I, wretched ſinner, give and ſubmit myſelf wholly to thy moſt bleſſed will: and being ſure, that the thing cannot periſh, which is committed unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this fraile and wicked fleſh, in hope of the reſurrection, which, in better wiſe, ſhall reſtore it to me againe.—I ſee and knowledge, that there is, in myſelfe, no helpe of ſalvation: but all my confidence, hope, and truſt, is in thy moſt merciful goodneſſe. I have no merits, nor good workes, which I may alledge before thee. Of ſinnes, and evill workes, alas! I ſee a great heape. But, through thy mercy, I truſt to be in the number of them, to whom thou wilt not impute their ſins; but take and accept me for righteous and juſt, and to be the inheritour of everlaſting life.—Thou, merciful Lord, waſt born, for my ſake; thou diddeſt both hunger and thirſt, for my ſake; thou diddeſt preach and teach, thou diddeſt pray and faſt, for my ſake; thou diddeſt all good workes and deedes, for my ſake: thou ſufferedſt moſt grievous paines and torments, for my ſake; and, finally, thou gaveſt thy moſt precious body to die, and thy blood to be ſhed on the croſſe, for my ſake.—Let thy blood cleanſe and waſh away the ſpots and foulneſs of my ſinnes. Let thy righteouſneſs hide and cover mine unrighteouſneſſe. Let the merites of thy paſſion and blood, bee the ſatisfaction for my ſinnes."

VIII. If ever there was a Calviniſtic confeſſion of faith ſince the world began, the two Helvetic, or Swiſs confeſſions (the ſmaller, drawn up, A. D. 1536, the larger, A. D. 1566.) have a right to be ſo termed. Even the vindicator of Mr. Weſley's minutes will hardly, I ſhould imagine, venture to conteſt the doctrinal Calviniſm of thoſe excellent Creeds, which do honour to the anceſtors of his Proteſtant countrymen.

In that valuable collection, entitled, *Corpus et Syntagma Confeſſionum Fidei*, which comprizes the ſeveral confeſſions of faith avowed by all the Proteſtant

teſtant churches (among which confeſſions, the 39 articles of our own church ſhine with a luſtre as bright as any); the Helvetic ſyſtem leads the van: in a ſhort preface to which, the editor (p. 4.) affirms, that the laſt and larger of the two was "ſubſcribed by the divines of Zurich, Bern, Shaffhauſen, St. Gall, Griſonny, Baſil, Bienne, and Geneva;" and that "The Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the reformed churches in France, all the Dutch churches, together with many of the Proteſtant churches in Poland, Hungary, and Germany, teſtified their approbation of the ſaid Helvetic confeſſion (*i*)." What I quote this paſſage for, is, to prove, that the Church of England, after its reſtoration by queen Elizabeth, acknowledged its approbation of the doctrines contained in that thoroughly Calviniſtic declaration of faith: which approbation our church would by no means have teſtified, had not her own principles been as thoroughly and confeſſedly Calviniſtic, as were the principles of the ſaid Swiſs churches.

Object not, that the truth of this circumſtance reſts on the authority of the foreign compiler of the *Syntagma Confeſſionum*. For the very ſame circumſtance is affirmed, and in ſtill ſtronger terms, by a moſt reſpectable Engliſh hiſtorian. His words are theſe, under the year 1566. "There was lately a confeſſion of faith, ſet forth by Bullinger and others, for the churches of Helvetia: which our church did then heartily conſent to and own. This I take, from the pen of one that well knew, viz. Grindal

(*i*) "Sed quum illa [ſcil. prima confeſſ. Helvet.] brevior eſſet, graviſſimis de cauſis accuratiùs ſcripta fuit. A. D. 1566. Cui Tigurini. Bernenſes, Shaffuſiani, Sangallenſes, Rhœti, Myllhuſiani, Biellenſes, item Genevenſes, ſubſcripſerunt. Eandem & comprobarunt eccleſiæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, Galliæ, Belgii omnes: Polonicæ, quoque, Hungaricæ, atque Germanicæ eccleſiæ multæ." —Chartula, confeſſ. Helv. præfix.—Apud Syntagm. Confeſs. Edit. Gen. 1612.

[at

[at that time] biſhop of London [and afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury]: for there is a letter of his, to the ſaid Bullinger, wherein among other things ſpeaking of our church [i. e. the Church of England's] affairs, he [the biſhop] ſhewed, how that many did endeavour to bring into the [Engliſh] church a doctrine different from that pure and ſincere profeſſion which was embraced by the churches of Helvetia: But [added the good prelate], *ad hunc uſque diem, cum veſtris eccleſiis, veſtraque confeſſione nuper editâ, pleniſſimi conſentimus* (*k*):" i. e. 'down to this very day, we [viz. we biſhops and clergy of the Church of England] do perfectly agree with your [i. e. with the Switz] churches, and with your confeſſion of faith lately ſet forth.'

Is the reader deſirous to ſee a ſpecimen of the Helvetic confeſſion? He ſhall have it. The whole is very long: conſiſting of no fewer than thirty Sections, or chapters. It is drawn up with wonderful candour, piety, and judgment. The ſixth chapter treats of Divine Providence: concerning which, it thus ſpeaks: "Every thing whatever is deſtined of God to ſome certain end, or purpoſe. He it is, who hath ordained, both its commencement, and the means by which the end ſhall be attained. The heathens, indeed, attributed things to blind fortune, and to precarious chance: but St. James directs us to ſay, If the Lord will, we'll do this or that. So ſpeaks St. Auſtin: all things whatever, even thoſe things not excepted, which, to us vain mortals, ſeem to come to paſs raſhly and without deſign; do, in reality, accompliſh nothing but the command of God: for at his command it is, that they come to paſs at all (*l*)."

The

(*k*) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 254. chap. 48.

(*l*) "Deus enim, qui cuilibet rei ſuum deſtinavit finem, is et principium, & media, per quæ ad finem uſque pervenitur, ordinavit. Ethnici fortunæ res attribuunt cæcæ, & incerto caſui. S. Jacobus, 4, non

The eighth chapter treats of original ſin: and juſtly obſerves, that, "When God is, in Scripture, ſaid to blind, to harden, and deliver men over to a reprobate mind; the meaning is, that God doth ſo, in a way of juſt judgment, as a righteous judge and avenger. Moreover, as often as Scripture affirms God to be the worker of any evil, it does not mean that evil is not of man's own committing; but that God, by his juſt judgment, permits evil to be wrought, and doth not hinder it, tho' it be in his power to hinder it if he ſo pleaſed. Or, it may be underſtood thus; that God makes a good uſe of men's evil actions; as he did of the ſins committed by Joſeph's brethren (*m*)."

The ninth chapter treats of free-will. Part of it runs thus: "The regenerate are active, as well as paſſive, in their choice and performance of what is good. For they are acted upon by God, in order to their doing what they do (*n*)."—Again: "The will itſelf is not only changed by God's holy ſpirit; but is alſo furniſhed with ability, freely to will and do that which is good (*o*)."

4, non vult ut dicamus, hodiè et cras in illam urbem proficiſcemur et negociabimur: ſed addit, pro eo quod dicere debueritis. Si Dominus voluerit, &c. Et Auguſtinus: omnia quæ vanis videntur in rerum naturâ temerè fieri, non faciunt niſi verbum ejus: quia non fiunt, niſi juſſu ejus."——Confeſs Helvet. Apud Syntagm. p. 24.

(*m*) "Proinde, quando dicitur in Scripturis Deus indurare, excæcare, & tradere in reprobum ſenſum; intelligendum id eſt, quòd juſto judico Deus id faciat, tanquam judex & ultor juſtus. Denique, quotieſcunque Deus aliquid mali in Scripturâ facere dicitur atque videtur, non ideò dicitur, quòd homo malum non faciat; ſed quòd Deus fieri ſinat, & non prohibeat, juſto ſuo judicio, qui prohibere potuiſſet, ſi voluiſſet. Vel, quòd malo hominum benè utatur; ut peccatis fratrum Joſephi."—Ibid. p. 27.

(*n*) "Duo obſervanda eſſe docemus: primum, regeneratos, in boni electione & operatione, non tantùm agere paſſivè, ſed activè. Aguntur enim à Deo, ut agant ipſi quod agunt."—Ibid. p. 29.

(*o*) "Voluntas ipſa nontantùm mutatur per ſpiritum; ſed etiam inſtruitur facultatibus, ut ſpontè velit & poſſit bonum."—Ibid.

I ſhall

I ſhall only add another paragraph, from the tenth chapter, which treats of God's predeſtination. "God hath from eternity, predeſtinated, or elected, freely, and of his own abſolute grace, without any reſpect of man [i. e. without any reſpect of man's goodneſs], the ſaints whom it is his will to ſave in Chriſt: according to that of the Apoſtle [Eph. i.], God hath choſen us in him, before the foundations of the world. And, again: Who hath ſaved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpoſe, and grace, which was given us in Chriſt, before the eternal ages, but is now made manifeſt by the appearing of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt [2 Tim. i. 9, 10] (*p*)."—So ſpeaks the Helvetic confeſſion: with which, the Church of England doth ſo "perfectly agree."

IX. Something has already been ſaid, concerning what is commonly called biſhop Ponet's catechiſm, drawn up in the reign of king Edward VI. The ſame famous catechiſm will ſupply us with an additional proof of the continued Calviniſm of our church, under the reign of queen Elizabeth. For, that catechiſm was not only revived, but enlarged, in the year 1562; and allowed by the ſame identical convocation, which reſettled our 39 articles upon their preſent footing. That I may not ſeem to advance any thing raſhly, I ſhall, as uſual, produce the authorities on which I go.

"One conſiderable thing more paſſed the hands of this convocation: viz. The catechiſm in Latin, for the uſe of ſchools, and alſo for a brief ſummary of religion, to be owned and profeſſed in this reformed church. And this is the ſame with that which is commonly known, to this day, by the name of Nowell's Catechiſm. The occaſion was this. Upon

(*p*) "Deus, ab æterno, predeſtinavit, vel elegit, liberè, et merâ ſuâ gratiâ, nullo hominum reſpectu, ſanctos, quos vult ſalvos facere in Chriſto: juxta illud Apoſtoli, Deus elegit nos, &c. Et iterum, qui ſalvos fecit nos, &c."—Ibid. p. 30, 31.

ſecretary

ſecretary Cecil's advice, Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, drew up a catechiſm in elegant Latin: yet making much uſe of the catechiſm ſet forth towards the latter end of king Edward's reign. This, when the dean had finiſhed, he dedicated to the ſame ſecretary who ſet him on work. And the clergy of the convocation thought fit to peruſe it: and, having well conſidered it, and making ſome corrections, gave it a more public character, as proceeding from them, and ſo allowing and approving the uſe of it.

"This catechiſm lay in Cecil's hand for above a year; and then was returned to Nowell again, with ſome learned man's notes: remaining with him, 'till 1570. And then it was called for again, by both archbiſhops, in order to the publiſhing of it: and, by Cecil's conſent (to whom it was dedicated before) being dedicated now by the author to the two archbiſhops and the biſhop of London, by name, and to all the reſt of the biſhops, it was printed. And printed again, 1572. And again, 1578. Bearing this title, *Chriſtianæ Pietatis prima Inſtitutio, ad Uſum Scholarum Latine ſcripta.* This catechiſm was tranſlated alſo, by the ſame dean's procurement, into Engliſh and Greek, for the uſe alſo of young learners.

"This catechiſm ſeems to be the ſame with that ſet forth a month or two before king Edward's death, and licenſed and recommended by the ſaid king's letter ſet before it. For the two perſons that hold the dialogue, in both catechiſms, are magiſter and auditor. In that letter, it is ſaid to have been written by a certain pious and learned man; and to have been, moreover, diligently peruſed by certain biſhops, and other perſons of learning, to whom the king had committed it. And (it was) likewiſe the ſame (catechiſm) which, in queen Mary's firſt convocation was much quarrelled with" (And no wonder; for Popery Calviniſm are but wet friends); "and, laſtly, which the Popiſh biſhops brought with them, when they came to Mr. Philpot's examination:

tion: which Philpot (the arch-deacon and martyr, of whom before), very probably, was one of thoſe learned men in convocation, that king Edward had committed this catechiſm to their peruſal of." Poor Mr. Weſley thought, I ſuppoſe, that he had long ago taken leave of biſhop Ponet's ghoſt; but we ſee, the ghoſt is ſo unceremonious as to appear again: nay, enhances the terrors of its appearance, by ſtalking hand-in-hand with additional ghoſts; even the ghoſts of Philpot, Cranmer, Ridley, and other "certain biſhops and learned men" of king Edward's convocation. But I return to the hiſtorian.

"It was thought fit (namely, in the reign of Elizabeth) that miniſters ſhould converſe in this catechiſm, and learn true divinity from it. But this ſome [viz. ſome of the rigid Puritans], conceited of their own learning, afterwards thought much of. Thus Thomas Cartwright, in his Admonition, complained, that now, miniſters, like young children, muſt be inſtructed, and learn catechiſms: where, in the margin, he placed theſe words, miniſters of London enjoyned to learn Mr. Nowell's catechiſm. To which, thus (arch-biſhop) Whitgift (made anſwer): That catechiſm, which you, in deriſion, quote in the margin, is a book fit for you to learn alſo. And I know no man ſo well learned, but it may become him to read and learn that learned and neceſſary book. Such was the eſteem of this catechiſm, upon its coming abroad, that, at ſome viſitation, as it ſeems, in London, the reading of it was recommended to the miniſters: and that with good reaſon; having paſſed the ſynod.

"Let me add, that, many years after, concerning this catechiſm, thus it was writ by a great biſhop (Cowper, biſhop of Wincheſter), in anſwer to (a pamphlet entitled) Martin Mar Prelate.——For a catechiſm (ſaid the biſhop), I refer them to that which was made by the learned and godly man, Mr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's; received and allowed by

the

the Church of England, and very fully grounded and eſtabliſhed upon the word of God. There may you ſee all the parts of true religion received; the difficulties expounded; the truth declared; the corruptions of the Church of Rome rejected (*q*)."

Thus do not only the ghoſts of king Edward's biſhops, and of queen Mary's martyrs; but the ghoſts alſo of queen Elizabeth's prelates, and of the whole convocation which paſſed the book of articles; unite with the ghoſt of John Calvin, to frighten the vaunting Mr. Weſley and the quaking Mr. Sellon. Both the knight and the ſquire are haunted by the mercileſs train, who are perpetually holding up Ponet's catechiſm to view.

But that catechiſm, though materially, was not exactly, the ſame with Nowell's. So, at leaſt, I learn from the annaliſt; for I have never been able to procure a ſight of dean Nowell's edition. But, that the Calviniſtic doctrines ſuffered no injury nor amputation, by paſſing through the hands of that learned editor, and of the convocation of 1562, I am fully ſatisfied. Should it be aſked, on what grounds I am convinced that thoſe doctrines continued with full force to predominate in Nowell's improved edition? My anſwer would be, let us attend to what Heylyn himſelf obſerves, concerning Nowell's catechiſm. From whence an additional advantage will alſo ariſe: for the quotations from it, which the Arminian brings, will remedy, in ſome meaſure, the inability I am under of quoting it myſelf.

"It is objected," ſays Heylyn, "that Mr. Alexander Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, who was prolocutor in this convocation, maintaineth in his catechiſm a doctrine contrary to that which the Arminians, as ſome call them, do now contend for: and that it is not to be thought, that he and others, engaged with them in the ſame convocation, were

(*q*) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 352, 353, 354.

either

either ſo ignorant, as not to know what they put into the [39] articles; or ſo infatuated by God, [as] to put in things quite contrary to their own judgments: which being ſuppoſed, or took for granted, we are directed to his catechiſm, written in the Engliſh tongue, and dedicated to the two archbiſhops." The ſum of the argument is this. The ſelf-ſame biſhops and clergymen in convocation, who reviſed and allowed the XXXIX articles as we have them at this very day; did alſo reviſe and allow Nowell's improved edition of Ponet's catechiſm: and the ſaid houſes of convocation cannot, with any ſhew of reaſon and juſtice, be ſuppoſed to have been either ſo ignorant, or ſo infatuated, as to approve two contrary ſyſtems of religion, at one and the ſame time. Conſequently, the Calviniſm of the catechiſm is an additional argument that the articles are Calviniſtic; and the Calviniſm of the articles is an additional argument to prove the Calviniſm of the catechiſm. Say not, that this kind of reaſoning is circular, and therefore inconcluſive. For, as contraries are often admitted to illuſtrate each other; ſo may correlates.

Heylyn found himſelf extremely hampered by the above argument: which indeed proved a circle, that hemmed him tightly round. His ſubſequent conceſſions, and ſubſequent twiſtings, demonſtrate, that this was a circle which, on his own Arminian principles, he knew not how to ſquare. For his twiſtings, I refer my readers to his book itſelf. But his conceſſions merit a place here.

He confeſſes, that the two following paſſages are a part of Nowell's catechiſm. "To the Church do all they properly belong, as many as do truly fear, honour, and call upon God, altogether applying their minds to live holily and godly, and with putting all their truſt in God, do moſt aſſuredly look for the bleſſedneſs of eternal life. They that be ſtedfaſt, ſtable, and conſtant in this faith, were choſen and

appointed, and (as we term it) predeſtinate, to this ſo great felicity." The other paſſage which Heylyn cites is: "The Church is the body of the Chriſtian commonwealth: that is, the univerſal number and fellowſhip of the faithful, whom God, through Chriſt, hath, before all beginning of time, appointed to everlaſting life."

Heylyn obſerves, that thoſe paſſages have been alledged from Nowell's catechiſm, "to prove that Mr. Nowell had no communion with Arminians." And what ſays Heylyn in anſwer to this? He was forced to acknowledge the juſtneſs of the inference: which he does, in the following remarkable words. "To ſay truth, he [i. e. Nowell] could have no communion with the Arminians, as ſome pleaſe to call them, though he had deſired it: Arminius being not born, or but newly born, when Mr. Nowell wrote that catechiſm. And Mr. Nowell had been dead ſome years, before the name of an Arminian had been heard in England (*r*)."

So much having been ſaid, concerning this good man's catechiſm; it may not prove diſagreeable to the reader, to be informed of ſome particulars, relative to the good man himſelf: which I have therefore ſubjoined, in the note (*s*) below.

X. The

(*r*) This, and the preceding quotations from Heylyn, occur in his Miſcell. Tracts, p. 599.

(*s*) "Dr. Alexander Nowell was born, A. D. 1510, of a knightly family, at Read, in Lancaſhire. At thirteen, he was admitted of Brazen-Noſe, Oxford: where he took his batchelor's, maſters, and doctor's degrees, and obtained a fellowſhip. He was, ſucceſſively, ſchool-maſter of Weſtminſter, canon of Weſtminſter Abbey, canon of Windſor, and dean of St. Paul's.

"He was ſo fond of fiſhing, that his picture, kept in Brazen-Noſe college, repreſents him ſurrounded with his hooks, lines, and other apparatus of the ſame ſort. During the reign of Edward VI. he diſtinguiſhed himſelf much, as a promoter of the Proteſtant religion. But after the acceſſion of Mary, while Nowell indulged himſelf in his favourite amuſement of catching fiſhes, Bonner was catching of Nowell, and deſigned him for the ſhambles: whither he had certainly been ſent, had not a friend of Nowell's ſafely conveyed him beyond

X. The great, the general, the juſt alarm, occaſioned by the ſurreptitious publication of ſuch books (which now and then made ſhift to ſteal from the preſs) as tended to countenance the doctrines of man's free-will, and the poſſibility of ſinleſs perfection in this life; is another glaring proof, how totally thoſe corrupt tenets were then ſuppoſed to deviate from the pure ſyſtem of the Church of England. Let one example ſtand for ſeveral.

"The free-will men," ſays Mr. Strype, under the year 1581, "at this time, gave ſome diſturbance by their doctrine. And now they had procured Caſtalio's books to be printed here, or brought over hither (*t*)." This Caſtalio was, by birth, a Frenchman: extremely poor, but very learned and ingeni-

beyond the ſeas. Without offence (ſays Fuller), it may be remembered, that Nowell, after one of his fiſhing expeditions, happening to leave a bottle of ale in the graſs, he found it ſome days after, no bottle, but a gun, ſo loud was the ſound at opening thereof: and this is believed to have been the original of bottled ale in this kingdom.

"Queen Mary being dead, and Elizabeth having aſcended the throne, Nowell returned from Germany to England, and was the firſt of the exiled Proteſtants, who, on that happy change, reviſited their native country. Soon after his arrival, he was choſe member of Parliament for a borough in Cornwall; but his election was declared void, on account of his being in deacon's orders.

"Elizabeth quickly raiſed him to the deanry of London; and (adds Dr. Fuller) for his meek ſpirit, deep learning, prudence, and piety, the then parliament, and convocation both, choſe, enjoined, and truſted him to be the man to make a catechiſm for public uſe; ſuch an one, as ſhould ſtand as a rule, for faith and manners, to their poſterity. For thirty years together, he preached the firſt and laſt ſermons in Lent, before the queen; wherein he dealt plainly and faithfully with her, and yet never incurred her diſpleaſure. He was a learned man; charitable to the poor, eſpecially if they had any thing of the ſcholar in them; and a great comforter of afflicted conſciences. He died in 1602, aged more than ninety years. But, like another Moſes, his eyes were not dim, nor did he ever make uſe of ſpectacles to read the ſmalleſt print. A man of moſt angelical life; a great defender of juſtification by faith alone, and yet a great practicer of good works."——Wood's Athenæ, i. 271.——Fuller's Worthys, p. 115, & ejuſd. Church Hiſt. book x. p. 4.

(*t*) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 69.

ous. Though he always continued a layman, he was yet a perpetual dabbler in divinity: his peculiar notions in which, he ſought to obtrude upon other people, with much bigotry, and ſometimes with little decency. While he kept within any tolerable bounds of moderation, he experienced a generous and affectionate patron in Calvin: but, by degrees, his impatient, dogmatizing zeal put him upon running to ſuch blaſphemous lengths againſt predeſtination, as obliged Calvin to turn him adrift. Such, however, were Calvin's benevolence and candour, that, if Caſtalio's own account is to be relied on, he was diſmiſſed from Geneva with a very favourable atteſtation to his character. Retiring to Baſil, he obtained a Greek profeſſorſhip: and died there, in 1563. His profeſſorſhip was far from yielding him a maintenance. It is even ſaid, that he was forced to divide his time between ſtudy and manual labour. His mornings were appropriated to literature: his afternoons to digging, like a common workman. But all would not afford him and his numerous family a competent ſupport. He wanted neceſſaries to the very laſt. Hence his melting complaint, to an opulent friend: you diſtill your oyl but by drops, into my lamp. How diſcommendable ſoever his heterodoxies might be deemed, the reflections of candid poſterity muſt for ever bear hard on the learned men of that age, for ſuffering a perſon of Caſtalio's fine acquirements to languiſh under the preſſure of ſuch complicated difficulties.

When the writings of this claſſical free-willer began to appear publicly in England, the friends of our eſtabliſhed Church took immediate alarm. Among theſe, was Sir Francis Knollis, treaſurer of the queen's houſhold: "who," ſays Strype, "thought it highly convenient to have the book ſearched for, and the reading of it hindered (*u*)." With this

(*u*) Strype, ubi ſupr.

view,

view, he wrote a letter to the lord treaſurer, and to the earl of Leiceſter. His letter ſeems to have had the intended effect. It ran thus:

"My very good lords,

"Your hableneſs and readineſs to do good, in theſe perilous days of traiterous practices both againſt God and againſt her majeſty, doth embolden me to preſume to remember your good lordſhips, that, by your good means, order may be taken, that the true authors and favourers of the ſetting forth of Caſtalio's book, with the (*x*) abuſes of the biſhop of London in that behalf, may be diligently examined and bolted out: that, the hypocriſy therein uſed, being known, the peſtilent doctrine thereof may be the more ſoundly ſuppreſſed. For it ſeemeth to me, that theſe free-will men, or Anabaptiſtical ſectaries, do follow the ſame ſcopes that the deified men of the Family of Love (afterwards known by the name of Ranters) do follow: ſaving that the ſame perfection which the Family of Love do pretend to obtain by virtue of love, the ſame perfection do Caſtalio's ſectaries pretend to obtain by the virtue of faith (*y*). But it is not by faith, in believing to be ſaved in the merits of Chriſt; but by a faith, in believing that every man is able to fulfill the law of God; and that the cauſe, why men do not fulfill the law, is the want of this Caſtalio's belief. Now both theſe ſects [i. e. both the Familiſts, or Ranters; and the followers of Caſtalio] do ſerve the turns of the Papiſts: as all free-will men, and juſticiaries, or juſtifiers of themſelves do. Yet, this difference is betwixt the Papiſts and theſe ſectaries (I do mean touching their practices here in England): for theſe

(*x*) It is very obſerveable, that, in thoſe days, all the free-willers were, to a man (ſo far as appears), open revilers of the Church of England, and virulent defamers of the biſhops. (*y*) Mr. Weſley has improved upon the plan both of the Ranters and of Caſtalio, by aſſociating the principle of each. The Methodiſtical perfection pretends to be compoſed of faith and love together.

ſectaries [i. e. the free-will men and perfectioniſts] are more hypocritical, and will ſooner deny their doctrines and aſſertions, to avoid puniſhment, than the Papiſts will.

"London, September 29, 1581 (z)."

Such were the ſentiments, then entertained, concerning the poiſonous nature and dangerous tendency of the principles advanced by the free-will men!

XI. Mr. Sellon's impertinence obliges me to repeat a very remarkable incident in the Religious Hiſtory of queen Elizabeth's reign, which I have had occaſion to mention in a former (a) publication: namely, the caſe of Thomas Talbot, parſon of St. Mary Magdalen's, in Milk-ſtreet, London. This Talbot preſented a petition to the biſhops and clergy aſſembled in convocation; which petition ſet forth, that the ſaid parſon Talbot, and ſome private perſons who concurred with him in opinion, were "mightily cried out againſt" by the members of the Church of England, becauſe the ſaid Talbot and his aſſociates believed that God doth only foreknow, but not predeſtinate, any "evil, wickedneſs, or ſin." For thus believing, the petitioners complained, that they were "eſteemed and taken, of their brethen the Proteſtants, for fautors of falſe religion; and are conſtrained, hitherto, to ſuſtain at their hands, daily, the ſhameful reproach and infamy of free-will men, Pelagians, Papiſts, Epicures, Anabaptiſts, and enemies to God's holy predeſtination and providence; with other ſuch like opprobrious words; and threatnings of ſuch like, or as great puniſhments and corrections, as, upon any of the aforeſaid errors and ſects, is meet and due to be executed." The petitioners next entreat, that they may enjoy their opinion of 'God's not being the author and predeſ-

(z) Strype, v. 1. p. 70.

(a) See my Church Vindicated from Arminianiſm.

tinator of man's ſin and damnation,' "Without any prejudice or ſuſpicion, to be had towards them, of the opprobrious infamy of ſuch heretical names above named: and, that none of thoſe corrections, puniſhments and executions, which the clergy hath in their authority already, and hereafter, by the authority of this preſent parliament, from henceforth ſhall have in their authority, to exerciſe upon any of the aforeſaid errors and ſects, or any other; ſhall in no wiſe, extend to be executed upon any manner of perſon or perſons, as do hold of predeſtination as is above declared: except it be duly proved, that the ſame perſon or perſons do, by their expreſs words or writings, affirm, or maintain, that man, of his own natural power, is able to think, will, or work, of himſelf, any thing that ſhould, in any caſe, help or ſerve towards his own ſalvation, or any part thereof (*b*)." Hence, among ſeveral other concluſions, I inferred, and ſtill infer, that our Proteſtant biſhops and clergy were, in Elizabeth's reign, more highly Calviniſtical, than, perhaps, the Scripture itſelf will warrant: for they roundly affirmed God to be the author both "of man's ſin and damnation:" —That ſuch perſons, as did not hold this, were looked upon as "differing from the reſt" of our Proteſtant Church-men:—That thoſe few people, who ſuppoſed God "not to be any cauſe of man's ſin and damnation," were "mightily cried out againſt," by the main body of our reformed Church, as "fautors" or favourers "of falſe religion:"—that "free-will men" were ranked among "Pelagians, Papiſts, Epicures, Anabaptiſts, and enemies to God's holy predeſtination and providence:—that, to be called "a free-will man," was looked upon as a "ſhameful reproach" and "opprobrious infamy:" —yea, that a free-willer was deemed "heretical;"

(*b*) See the whole of this memorable petition, in Strype's Annals, ſub An. 1562, vol. i. chap. 28. p. 331—333.

and not only ſo, but expoſed to the "corrections, puniſhments, and executions" of the civil magiſtrate:—that the few oppoſers of predeſtination were then both more modeſt, and more orthodox (or, rather, leſs heterodox), than the generality of our modern Arminians. More modeſt: in that the Milk-ſtreet parſon only requeſted a bare toleration for himſelf and his Semipelagian brethren; which requeſt argued both a conſciouſneſs, and an acknowledgement, that he and they diſſented from our eſtabliſhed Church. More orthodox: in that, as we have ſeen from the very phraſeology of their own petition, they were ready to conſent, that any eccleſiaſtical cenſure or civil penalty ſhould be inflicted on ſuch of their number, as ſhould "affirm and maintain, that man, of his own natural power, is able to think, will, or work, of himſelf, any thing that ſhould in any caſe help or ſerve towards his own ſalvation, or any part thereof." I, therefore, aſk, again; where is now the Arminian, who would make ſuch a conceſſion as this? Nay, where is now the Arminian, who does not ſtiffly maintain the very reverſe? From whence I infer, that our new Anti-calviniſts are as much degenerated from the decency even of their Pelagian fore-fathers, as thoſe Pelagian fore-fathers were degenerated from the purity of the Proteſtant faith in general, and from that of our own national Church in particular.

And now, what ſay Meſſ. Weſley and Sellon, by way of anſwer to my argument for the Calviniſm of the Church of England, drawn from the tenor of the above-cited petition? Inſtead of anſwering, the aſtoniſhed Arminians deſcant as follows: "Good God! To what a pitch of tyranny and wickedneſs was the Calviniſtic faction gotten, in Elizabeth's days!—It is plain that Dr. Heylyn ſays true, when he tells us, It was ſafer for any man, in thoſe times, to have been looked upon as an heathen or publican, than an Anti-calviniſt. This ſhews, what a deplorable

a deplorable ſtate the Church was at that time in: reformed—from bad to worſe; from Popiſh ſuperſtition to Calviniſtic blaſphemy.——Theſe biſhops and clergy" [viz. the biſhops and clergy in the convocation of 1562, to whom Talbot's petition was preſented; who were alſo the very identical biſhops and clergy that then ſettled the preſent liturgy, and framed the preſent XXXIX Articles of the Church of England], "Theſe biſhops and clergy were a company of ſilly men, to ſay no worſe (*c*)." The Church is much obliged to Mr. John and his man Wat, for their complaiſance to her. Unhappily, however, for themſelves and their cauſe, they have, in the ferment of their ſcurrilous heat, unwarily ſet their ſeal to the whole of the argument I plead for. They acknowledge (who could ever have thought it?) even John Weſley and Walter Sellon do, themſelves, acknowledge, that the Church of England was "reformed from Popiſh ſuperſtition to Calviniſtic" principles; and that, in good queen Beſs's golden days, when Calviniſm had no harm in it, "it was ſafer for any man to have been looked upon as an heathen or publican, than an Anti-calviniſt." Granted. And what is this, but the very point for which I contend (*d*)?

(*c*) Sellon, p. 55, 56, 57. (*d*) The compliment, which this brace of Methodiſts paſs on the biſhops, &c. who threw our 39 articles into their preſent form: viz. that "they were a company of ſilly men, to ſay no worſe" of them; yea, (p. 56) that the ſaid biſhops and clergy were "an herd of perſecutors;" reminds me of another very elegant compliment offered, by the ſaid brace, to the memories of thoſe great and good men who tranſlated the Holy Scripture into Engliſh verſion now uſed: viz. that they were "blunderers and blaſphemers" (p. 110). And yet, one of theſe railers, viz. Mr. Weſley himſelf, tells us, in the preface to his wretched bundle of plagiariſms on the New Teſtament, that there is ſomething in the very diction of our Engliſh tranſlation, which is, in his eſtimation, peculiarly venerable. That is, blunders and blaſphemies are, in Mr. W's judgment, peculiarly venerable. I ſhould have imagined as much, without his information: they being, literally two ſpecies of commodities, in which he drives a larger traffic than any other blunder-merchant this iſland has produced.

XII. I muſt

XII. I muſt repeat another inſtance, than which it is hardly poſſible, perhaps, to alledge an incident more ſtrong, ſtriking, and concluſive, in favour of the abſolute Calviniſm of the Church of England: I mean, the advice, offered and recommended by queen Elizabeth's biſhops themſelves, that "Incorrigible Arians, Pelagians or free-will men, be ſent into ſome one caſtle, in North Wales, or Wallingford; and there to live of their own labour and exerciſe; and none other be ſuffered to reſort unto them, but their keepers: until they be found to repent their errors (*e*)."

This moſt remarkable paper of advice is thus introduced by Mr. Strype: "Another thing alſo was now drawn up in writing, by the archbiſhop [Parker], and biſhops, for the further regulation of the inferior clergy. This paper conſiſted of interpretations and further conſiderations of certain of the queen's injunctions, for the better direction of the clergy, and for keeping good order in the church. It was framed, as it ſeems to me, by the pen of Cox, biſhop of Ely; and reviſed by the archbiſhop (*f*)." —Let it be noticed, that dean Nowell's catechiſm, together with the "ſecond book of homilies, as we have them at this day in our homily book (*g*)," was compiled and publiſhed; as alſo the "articles of faith to be ſubſcribed to by miniſters, and the form of declaration" [i. e. the declaration of conformity to the liturgy and rites] "to be by them openly ſpoken and profeſſed; were likewiſe framed," about (*b*) the ſame time, and by the ſelf-ſame biſhops who adviſed the queen to ſhut up all incorrigible free-will "men in ſome one caſtle in North Wales, or Wallingford."

From my former Vindication of the Church of England, permit me to tranſcribe a brief remark or

(*e*) See Strype's Annals, vol. i. chap. xvii. p. 214.
(*f*) Strype, u. ſ. p. 213. (*g*) Strype, u. ſ. p. 216.
(*b*) Strype, Ibid.

two,

two, which I then made, on this extraordinary advice offered by queen Elizabeth's biſhops and clergy in convocation aſſembled. I obſerved, „I do not quote this mortifying paragraph [mortifying indeed, to Arminians and Arminianizers], from any approbation I entertain of the expedient recommended: for I abhor every thing that even looks like perſecution, for principles merely religious. But I cannot help deducing two concluſions from this curious portion of our eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. 1ſt, That free-will men were conſidered, by the Church of England, when in her purity, as ſome of the moſt dangerous recuſants ſhe had to grapple with: elſe, ſhe would never have adviſed the confining of them in a remote priſon, where none ſhould be permitted to have acceſs to them, their keepers only excepted. —2dly, That free-will men were, at that time, very few in number: otherwiſe, "One caſtle," however ſpacious, would not have been thought large enough to contain them. I heartily congratulate our preſent, free-willers, on their living in an age of liberty.

And I ſtill congratulate them, with the utmoſt ſincerity. Among which congratulated number, I include even Mr. Weſley and Mr. Sellon. Had the advice of the epiſcopal bench been followed, and had it continued in force to this day, Mr. Weſley, inſtead of ranging the three kingdoms, like a bird of paſſage; would have been caged on the dreary ſummit of a Welſh mountain: or, compelled to fix his neſt in ſome hole of Wallingford Caſtle, muſt have beat time to the muſic of the winds. The melodious Mr. Sellon, likewiſe, inſtead of improving and raviſhing the public with his mellifluous notes, muſt have followed his maſter to the coop: and warbled his harmonious woes to the dull, dark, damp, ſolitary walls; or whiſtled his penſive ſtrains to the owls and to the batts.—I mean if theſe two

Arminians

Arminians had ſtood to their principles: of which I ſtand in much doubt.

I am glad the ſweet ſingers are at full liberty to hop from ſpray to ſpray in purſuit of flies, tho' I cannot wiſh them a large capture. And whereas I had reaſonably and naturally inferred, that free-willers were once very few in number, from the circumſtance of a ſingle caſtle's being deemed ſufficient to hold them all; I am well pleaſed that the ſaid nightingales ſhould have it in their power to counter-act my inference with this ſage objection (p. 39.): to wit, that "One caſtle would have held all the avowed Proteſtants in England, in queen Mary's days." But this happens to be a miſtake. For, tho' many Proteſtants fled, as opportunity offered, into other countries; yet, the multitude of thoſe that remained was ſo great, that Mary's Popiſh biſhops were tired, and her Popiſh adminiſtration were aſhamed, of the impriſonments, the ſufferings, and the ſlaughters, by which her deteſtable reign was diſtinguiſhed.—Let Strype teſtify, whether "One caſtle would have held all the avowed Proteſtants in England." That authentic hiſtorian affirms, that, in London only, "The Tower, the Fleet, the Marſhalſea, the King's-bench, Newgate, and the two Counters were full of them (*c*)." It was even computed, that no fewer than twenty thouſand perſons, who had been, from the very firſt, bigotted Papiſts; were, during the perſecution, converted to Proteſtantiſm, in the courſe of one twelvemonth only (*d*).——A very elegant and maſterly hiſtorian, now living, confirms the falſehood of Mr. Sellon's conjecture. "The patience and fortitude, with which the martyrs for the reformation ſubmitted to their ſufferings; the heroic contempt of death, expreſſed by perſons of every rank, and age,

(*c*) Eccles. Mem. vol. iii. p. 140. (*d*) Ibid. p. 285.

and

and ſex; confirmed many more in the Proteſtant faith, than the threats of their enraged perſecutors could frighten into apoſtacy. The buſineſs of ſuch as were entruſted with the trying of heretics, grew upon them, and appeared as endleſs as it was odious. The queen's ableſt miniſters became ſenſible, how impolitic, as well as dangerous, it was, to irritate the people by the frequent ſpectacle of public executions, which they deteſted, as no leſs unjuſt than cruel. Even Philip was ſo thoroughly convinced of her having run to an exceſs of rigour, that he aſſumed a part, to which he was little accuſtomed; becoming an advocate for moderation and lenity (*e*)."——In ſuppoſing therefore, that "all the avowed Proteſtants in England, might in the days of Mary," have been comprehended in "one caſtle;" Mr. Sellon raſhly eſtimates the integrity of the martyrs, by his own: but he ſhould remember, that they were conſcientious Calviniſts, and himſelf is a prevaricating Arminian.

On the whole, it follows, that one caſtle would not have held all the profeſſed Proteſtants in queen Mary's reign: But that one caſtle would have held all the Proteſtant free-willers in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

XIII. The avowed and undeniable Calviniſm of thoſe prelates, with whom that diſcerning princeſs took care to fill the metropolitical ſee of Canterbury, during the whole of her reign, ſupplies another argument, for the palpable Calviniſm of the church. Indeed, the ſame care was taken of the inferior ſees: witneſs the venerable Calviniſtic names of Sandys, Hutton, and Matthew, archbiſhops of York; Aylmer, and Bancroft, biſhops of London; Horne, Watſon, and Cowper, biſhops of Wincheſter; Cox, Barlow, Jewell, Gheaſt, Babington, Parkhurſt,

(*e*) Robertſon's Hiſt. of Charles V. Book xi. vol. iv. p. 162. octavo.

Young,

Young, Scambler, Pilkington, and many others, who were rather ornaments to the mitre, than the mitre to them.

I ſhould expatiate on too large a field, were I (as I once deſigned) to enter on the proof, which hiſtory affords, of the orthodox principles of thoſe and the other leading (*f*) biſhops in that reign. I muſt, therefore, confine myſelf to the prelates of

(*f*) Let the accompliſhed Dr. Jewell, biſhop of Saliſbury, whoſe able defences of the Church of England have ſtamped immortality on his name, ſtand as one proof for all, of that thorough-paced Calviniſm which was univerſally adopted by the valuable fathers who graced the right reverend bench, in thoſe times of doctrinal purity.——"God," ſays biſhop Jewell, "hath choſen you from the beginning. His election is ſure forever. The Lord knoweth who are his. You ſhall not be deceived with the power and ſubtilty of antichriſt. You ſhall not fall from grace. You ſhall not periſh. This is the comfort which abideth with the faithful, when they behold the fall of the wicked; when they ſee them forſake the truth and delight in fables; when they ſee them return to their vomit, and wallow again in the mire. When we ſee theſe things in others, we muſt ſay, alas they are examples for me, and lamentable examples. Let him that ſtandeth take heed that he fall not. But God hath loved me, and hath choſen me to ſalvation. His mercy ſhall go before me, and his mercy ſhall follow in me. His mercy ſhall guide my feet, and ſtay me from falling. If I ſtay by myſelf, I ſtay by nothing; I muſt needs come to ground.———He hath loved me; he hath choſen me; he will keep me. Neither the example nor the company of others, nor the enticing of the Devil, nor my own ſenſual imaginations, nor ſword, nor fire, is able to ſeparate me from the love of God which is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. This is the comfort of the faithful.——Whatſoever falleth upon others, tho' others fall and periſh, altho' they forſake Chriſt and follow after antichriſt, yet God hath loved you and given his Son for you. He hath choſen you, and prepared you unto ſalvation, and hath written your names in the book of life. But how may we know that God hath choſen us? how may we ſee this election? or how may we feel it? the Apoſtle ſaith, thro' ſanctification, and the faith of truth. Theſe are tokens of God's election. —This [viz. the holy ſpirit] comforteth us in all temptations; and beareth witneſs with our ſpirit that we be the children of God; that God hath choſen us: and doth love us, and hath prepared us to ſalvation; that we are the heirs of his glory; that God will keep us as the apple of his eye; that he will defend us; and we ſhall not periſh."—Biſhop Jewell's Expoſit. of the Epiſtles to the Theſſalonians, p. 143, 144. Lond. 1611.

Canter-

Canterbury: who were Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift.

(1.) Dr. Matthew Parker was conſecrated archbiſhop, Dec. 17, 1559, in Lambeth chapel. Almoſt immediately afterwards, his grace received a letter from Calvin: which letter he communicated to the queen's privy council, who, when they had ſeriouſly conſidered its contents, ordered the archbiſhop to tranſmit their thanks to Calvin for his pains and kindneſs. I ſhall recite this matter more at large, in the hiſtorian's own words.

A letter was ſent, this year (1560), to archbiſhop Parker, "From the hands of a great divine, John Calvin: importing, how he [viz. Calvin] rejoiced in the happineſs of England, and that God had raiſed up ſo gracious a queen to be inſtrumental in propagating the true faith of Jeſus Chriſt, by reſtoring the goſpel, and expelling idolatry, together with the biſhop of Rome's uſurped power. Calvin then made a ſerious motion of uniting Proteſtants together, as he had done before (*g*) in king Edward's

(*g*) "The ſentiments of the foreign Proteſtants concerning the preſent Engliſh ſtate" [viz. concerning the church and condition of England under the government of king Edward VI.] "deſerves a particular remark. They took ſuch great joy and ſatisfaction in this good king, and his eſtabliſhment of religion, that Bullinger, Calvin, and others, in a letter to him, offered to make him their defender, and to have biſhops in their churches, as there were in England; with a tender of their ſervice, to aſſiſt and unite together." (Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 207.)——Nothing could be more wiſely, or more benevolently planned, than this excellent ſcheme. It was, however, fruſtrated. And fruſtrated by whom? By the Papiſts of that time: who were, to the laſt degree, ſtung and alarmed at the proſpect of a general union among the reformed. The council of Trent was then ſitting: ſome artful members of which undertook, by dint of colluſive management, to diſconcert a meaſure ſo formidable to the intereſts of Rome. For thus the hiſtorian goes on: "This" [propoſal of Calvin's to king Edward and the Church of England] "nettled the learned at the council of Trent, who came to the knowledge of it by ſome of their private intelligencers; and they verily thought, that all the heretics,

ward's reign.—He [now] intreated the archbiſhop to prevail with her majeſty to ſummon a general aſſembly of all the Proteſtant clergy, whereſoever diſperſed; and that a ſet form and method [i. e. of public ſervice, and government of the church] might be eſtabliſhed, not only in her dominions, but alſo among all the reformed and evangelical churches abroad.

This was a noble offer: and the archbiſhop ſoon acquainted the queen's council with it. They took it into conſideration, and deſired his grace to thank Calvin, and to let him know, they liked his propoſals, which were fair and deſirable: yet, as to the

heretics, as they called them, would now unite among themſelves, and become one body, receiving the ſame diſcipline exerciſed in England: which if it ſhould happen, and they ſhould have heretical biſhops near them in thoſe parts, they concluded that Rome and her clergy would utterly fall. Whereupon were ſent two of their emiſſaries from Rotterdam into England, who were to pretend themſelves Anabaptiſts, and preach againſt baptizing infants, and preach up re-baptizing, and a fifth monarchy upon earth. And, beſides this, one D. G. authorized by theſe learned men [i. e. by the Popiſh ſynod aſſembled at Trent], diſpatched a letter, written in May, 1549, from Delft in Holland, to two [of the Popiſh deprived] biſhops [here], whereof [Gardiner biſhop of] Wincheſter was one; ſignifying the coming of theſe pretended Anabaptiſts, and that they ſhould receive them, and cheriſh them, and take their parts, if they ſhould chance to receive any checks: telling them, that it was left to them to aſſiſt in this cauſe, and to ſome others whom they knew to be well affected to the mother church. This letter is lately put in print. Sir Henry Sidney firſt met with it in queen Elizabeth's cloſet, among ſome papers of queen Mary's. He tranſcribed it into a book of his, called, The Romiſh Policies. It came afterwards into the hands of archbiſhop Uſher; and was tranſcribed thence by Sir James Ware." (Strype, u. ſ. p. 207, 208).

The Romiſh church had reaſon to dread the projected coalition of Proteſtants: and the reſtleſs intrigues of her emiſſaries, who, under various characters and appearances, went about, ſowing diviſions, and ſeeking to unſettle the minds of the people; doubtleſs, contributed much to impede and diſſipate the intended ſalutary union. It would, however, in all probability, have taken effect, at the long run; if the ſtate-animoſities and factions, which divided king Edward's court, together with the early death of the good king himſelf, had not ſuperſeded the excellent deſign.

See more of Cranmer's correſpondence with Calvin, in Mr. Strype's above-quoted Memorials, from p. 409 to p. 413.

govern-

government of the church, to ſignify to him, that the Church of England would ſtill retain her epiſcopacy (*b*):" And it was Calvin's deſire that ſhe might. Nay, that great reformer (as hath been already obſerved) wiſhed for the introduction of Proteſtant epiſcopacy into the reformed churches abroad. Witneſs, farther, what Mr. Strype immediately ſubjoins:

"This was a great work; and created ſerious thoughts in the archbiſhop's mind, for the framing a proper method to ſet it on foot: but he had conſidered but a little while of theſe matters, when news arrived at court, that Calvin was dead.—How Calvin ſtood affected in the ſaid point of epiſcopacy, and how readily and gladly he and other heads of the reformed Churches would have received it, is evident enough from his writings and epiſtles. In his book of the neceſſity of reforming the Church, he hath theſe words: *Talem nobis Hierarchiam exhibeant, &c.* Let them give us ſuch an hierarchy, in which biſhops may be ſo above the reſt, as they refuſe not to be under Chriſt, and depend upon him as their only head; that they maintain a brotherly ſociety, &c. if there be any that do not behave themſelves with all reverence and obedience toward them, there is no Anathema, but I confeſs them worthy of it (*i*)." Calvin's opinion being ſo favourable

(*b*) Strype's Life of Parker, p. 69. (*i*) Life of Parker, p. 69, 70.—The hiſtorian mentions another very remarkable proof, both of Calvin's regard for epiſcopacy, and of the manner in which a ſeeming difference aroſe between the plan of eccleſiaſtical government adopted by that reformer, and the plan of epiſcopal government adopted by the Church of England. A curious paper, in archbiſhop Abbot's own hand-writing, found among archbiſhop Uſher's manuſcripts, and publiſhed by Mr. Strype, ran as follows: "Peruſing ſome papers of our predeceſſor, Matthew Parker, we find, that John Calvin, and others of the Proteſtant Churches of Germany and elſewhere, would have had epiſcopacy, if permitted.——And whereas Galvin had ſent a letter, in king Edward the VI's reign, to have conferred with the clergy of England, about ſome things to this

able to the Engliſh epiſcopacy, it was no wonder that he and the archbiſhop of Canterbury were on terms of moſt friendly and intimate correſpondence. The

effect; two [Popiſh] biſhops, viz. Gardiner and Bonner, intercepted the ſame: whereby Mr. Calvin's offerture periſhed, and he received an anſwer [from Gardiner and Bonner] as if it had been from the reformed divines of thoſe times; wherein they checked him, and ſlighted his propoſals. From which time John Calvin and the Church of England were at variance in ſeveral points [reſpecting Church government]: which, otherwiſe, through God's mercy, had been qualified, if thoſe papers of his propoſals had been diſcovered to the queen's majeſty [viz. to queen Elizabeth] during John Calvin's life. But, being not diſcovered until, or about, the ſixth year of her reign, her majeſty much lamented, they were not found ſooner: which ſhe expreſſed before her council, in the preſence of her great friends Sir Henry Sidney and Sir William Cecil." Strype's Life of Parker, p. 70.——So wrote that moſt reſpectable prelate, archbiſhop Abbot; whoſe evidence may be thus ſummed up; Calvin's laſt letter concerning epiſcopacy, ſent to the ruling clergy of England in the reign of Edward VI. was craftily intercepted by Bonner and Gardiner; who (to quaſh Calvin's ſcheme for epiſcopizing the foreign Proteſtant Churches) forged a ſurly, ſnappiſh anſwer to Calvin, in the names of the divines to whom his letter had been addreſſed, but whoſe hands it had never reached. Calvin, being diſguſted at the rudeneſs with which he ſuppoſed his overture had been received here, dropt all thoughts of making any further advances on the ſubject. And thus, had not the fraudulent malice of two Popiſh extinguiſhers put out the deſign, Calvin had admitted the diſcipline of the Church of England, with as much zeal and heartineſs as the Church of England actually adopted Calvin's doctrines.—Let me add, that queen Elizabeth's "much lamentation before her council," on the detection of the above Popiſh fraud, demonſtrated how fair Mr. John Calvin ſtood in her majeſty's eſteem.

A very remarkable paſſage occurs, likewiſe, in the examination of Mountagu's Pelagian and Arminian appeal, written by the excellent biſhop Carleton, who had been one of the repreſentatives of the Church of England at the ever memorable ſynod of Dort. A paſſage, which demonſtrates, that the affection of the foreign reformed Churches, to a Proteſtant and primitive epiſcopacy, did not expire with the life of Calvin. "When wee [i. e. when we Engliſh divines, who attended that ſynod] were to yeeld our conſent to the Belgic confeſſion at Dort; I made open proteſtation in the ſynode, that whereas, in that confeſſion, there was inſerted a ſtrange conceit of the parity of miniſters to be inſtituted by Chriſt, I declared our diſſent utterly in that point. I ſhewed, that, by Chriſt, a parity was never inſtituted in the Church.—And herein I appealed to the judgment of antiquity, and to the judgment of any learned man now living;

The truth is, they were reciprocal admirers of each other, and agreed no leſs in matters of diſcipline than of doctrine.

In the year 1563, Muſculus's Common Places, which contain a complete and very excellent ſyſtem of Calviniſtical divinity, were tranſlated into Engliſh, and the tranſlation dedicated to the ſaid archbiſhop Parker. Nay, in the opinion of Mr. Strype, the archbiſhop himſelf honoured the book with the prefatory admonition to the reader, concerning Church-diſcipline and ceremonies. "Muſculus's Common Places came forth, this year, in folio; tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh, for the uſe of Engliſh divines and others, in order to inſtruct them in a body of ſound divinity purged from the errors of Popery. The author [viz. Muſculus] was a learned profeſſor of divinity, in Bern, Switzerland; and reckoned among the moſt profound doctors that had written in the Church of God. The tranſlator was Mr. Man, head of Merton College, Oxford; who dedicated the book to our archbiſhop." (Strype's Life of Parker, p. 150).——In this book,

living; and craved herein to be ſatisfied, if any man of learning could ſpeak to the contrary. (My lord of Saliſbury is my witneſſe; and ſo are all the reſt of our company, who ſpake alſo in the ſame cauſe.) To this there was no anſwere made by any. Whereupon, we conceived that they yeelded to the truth of the proteſtation.—— And ſomewhat I can ſay, of my own knowledge: for I had conferences with divers of the beſt learned in that ſynode. I told them, that the cauſe of all their troubles [viz. of all the diſſentions occaſioned and fomented in the Dutch Churches by the Arminians] was this, that they had not byſhops among them: who, by their authoritie, might repreſſe turbulent ſpirits that broached novelties.——Their anſwere was, that they did much honour and reverence the good order and diſcipline of the Church of England; and, with all their hearts, would be glad to have it eſtabliſhed among them: but that could not be hoped for, in their ſtate. Their hope was, that, ſeeing they could not doe what they deſired, God would be merciful to them, if they did what they could. This was their anſwere.——The truthe is, they groane under that burden [viz. the burden of miniſterial parity], and would be eaſed, if they could. This is well knowne to the reſt of my aſſociates there."——Biſhop Carleton's Examination, &c. p. 111, 112. Lond. 1626.

the doctrines of abſolute predeſtination and grace are wrought up to the higheſt ſtandard. I have the Latin edition by me, and number it among my choiceſt literary treaſures. Let me aſk, whether the archbiſhop would not only have permitted the Engliſh verſion of it to be dedicated to himſelf, but alſo have prefixed to it a "preface of his own," if his grace had not indeed looked upon that performance as, what Mr. Strype juſtly terms it, "a body of ſound divinity?"

The extraordinary countenance afforded by the ſame archbiſhop to the Geneva Bible, is a ſtrong acceſſory proof of his doctrinal Calviniſm. One Mr. John Bodleigh began to prepare a new edition of that Bible, in 1569, and, "applied himſelf to the queen's ſecretary, Cecil.—But the ſecretary ſuſpended giving his furtherance, till he had heard the advice of the archbiſhop, and the biſhop of London. —Both the archbiſhop and biſhop willingly gave their letters to the ſecretary, in Bodleigh's behalf; writing to him, that they thought ſo well of the firſt impreſſion, and the review of thoſe who had ſince travelled therein, that they, [viz. the biſhops of Canterbury and London] wiſhed it would pleaſe him [ſecretary Cecil] to be a means, that twelve years longer term might be, by ſpecial privilege, granted him [i. e. to Bodleigh], in conſideration of the charges, by him and his aſſociates, in the firſt impreſſion, and the review ſithence ſuſtained (*k*)." Thus, though the Geneva Bible never had the expreſs authority of the ſtate to recommend it, it had the approbation of the principal eccleſiaſtics in the Church of England.

But the tranſlation, called, the Biſhops Bible, mentioned above, and from which ſome ſtriking extracts have been given; puts the Calviniſm of archbiſhop Parker (who had the chief hand in that

(*k*) Strype's Life of archbiſhop Parker, p. 206, 207.

verſion)

verſion) beyond all controverſy. "The archbiſhop took upon him the labour to contrive, and to ſet the whole work a going in a proper method; by ſorting out the whole Bible into parcels, and diſtributing thoſe parcels to able biſhops, and other learned men, to peruſe, and collate, each, the books allotted them: ſending, withal, his inſtructions for the method they ſhould obſerve, and they to add ſome ſhort marginal notes for the illuſtration or correction of the text. And all theſe portions of the Bible being finiſhed, and ſent back to the archbiſhop, he was to add the laſt hand to them, and ſo to take care for printing and publiſhing the whole (*l*)." All which was accordingly done.—— Hiſtory records many other proofs of archbiſhop Parker's orthodoxy (the modelling of the XXXIX Articles, for inſtance; and his concurrence with the reſt of the biſhops, in the propoſal for confining "incorrigible free-will men," to hard labour and diſcipline, "in ſome one caſtle;" with various particulars beſides, all tending to the ſame point): but the few, already ſpecified, ſhall, at preſent, ſuffice. This good archbiſhop, dying in 1575, was ſucceeded in the ſee of Canterbury,

(2.) By the learned and pious Dr. Edmund Grindal: a prelate, in whoſe breaſt the entire aſſemblage of Chriſtian graces met, and in whoſe life every moral virtue ſhone. A remarkable incident is related of him, when a boy. He was, from his infancy, biaſſed by a ſtrong propenſity to literature: and uſed to make ſome valuable book or other the conſtant companion of his ſolitary walks. Paſſing, one day, through a field, with his coat or waiſtcoat buttoned half-way up, and a volume reſting in his boſom, an arrow, from ſome unknown quarter, lighted on his breaſt, and muſt have killed him im-

(*l*) Ibid. p. 208.

mediately, if the book had not intercepted the point of the weapon in its way to his heart (*m*).

Being tranſplanted from his native county of Cumberland, to Cambridge; he there became fellow of Pembroke Hall; and, in conſideration of his diſtinguiſhed abilities and merit, was nominated by biſhop Ridley to be one of his chaplains; his other two being Mr. John Rogers and Mr. John Bradford, who were both (as was their lord, the biſhop himſelf) afterwards martyred in the reign of Mary. Dr. Grindal would, probably, have been baptized with the ſame fiery baptiſm, had not that watchful Providence, whoſe care he eminently experienced from his earlieſt years, enabled him to eſcape into Germany; where he ſtayed till Elizabeth became queen. On his return to England, he was, ſucceſſively biſhop of London, archbiſhop of York, and at laſt of Canterbury. He died A. D. 1583, and lies buried in the chancel of Croydon Church. Pious king Edward VI. ſenſible of Grindal's worth, had nominated him to a biſhopric, a little before his [the king's] deceaſe; but Providence reſerved our prelate's advancement, to the more fixed and ſettled times of Elizabeth.

His attachment to the Calviniſtic principles has never, ſo far as I can find, been diſputed. And, indeed, his extraordinary zeal for that pure, Proteſtant ſyſtem, was the reaſon why this good archbiſhop has been ſo maliciouſly pecked at, by more than one Arminian traducer; particularly, by the infamous Peter Heylyn.

A perſon need but look into Mr. Fox's ineſtimable Martyrology, and he will preſently perceive, that predeſtination and its connected doctrines are the threads of gold and ſcarlet which pervade the whole of that performance. The venerable author

(*m*) Strype's Life of archbiſhop Grindal, p. 4.

was

was indebted, for much aſſiſtance in his work, to the pains and care of Grindal (*n*). "Many accounts of the acts and diſputations, of the ſufferings and ends, of the godly men under queen Mary, came, from time to time, to Grindal's hands: and, as they came to his hands, he conveyed them to Fox. Nor did he only do this; but, withall, frequently gave Fox his thoughts concerning them, and his inſtructions and counſels about them.——I find Grindal, ſoon after Bradford's martyrdom, ſending Fox his hiſtory, together with many of his holy letters.—Grindal wrote him likewiſe, that he had a great heap of ſuch papers: to whom Fox [replied], he doubted not that he would, with the like vigilancy and faithfulneſs, peruſe and digeſt them.—Indeed, Grindal had greater opportunities of knowing Bradford, and getting his papers, than others [had]: they two having been fellow chaplains together to [Ridley] the biſhop of London, and to the king [viz. Edward VI.], and fellow-prebendaries of St. Paul's; and I might add alſo, fellows of the ſame college (*o*)." Doctor Grindal alſo furniſhed Fox with the accounts of Cranmer, Ridley, and others of the eminent martyrs. By which it appears, "How earneſt an aſſiſtant Grindal was to Fox, in compiling his Martyrology; both by his continual counſel, and by ſupplying him with materials for it: much whereof he ſent him drawn up and methodized by his own pen, in Engliſh (*p*)."

I have already proved, that Peter Martyr was a Calviniſt of the trueſt dye: and under his miniſtry it was, that Grindal ſat, during the exile of the latter in Germany, while Mary ſwayed the ſceptre in England. For, thus wrote Grindal, in a letter to the impriſoned biſhop Ridley: "We [i. e. the Proteſtant refugees] be here diſperſed in divers and ſe-

(*n*) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 9. 13. (*o*) Ibid. p. 18.
(*p*) Ibid. p. 21.

veral places. Certayne be at Tigurye; good ſtudents, of either Univerſity, a number; very well entreated of Maiſter Bullinger, &c. Another number of us remayne at Argentine, and take the commodity of Maiſter Martyr's leſſons, who is a very notable father (*q*)."

On his return to England (which was in the very next month after queen Elizabeth's acceſſion), he was one of the principal commiſſioners, appointed to the reviſal of the Book of Common Prayer. The Calviniſm therefore, of the liturgy, evinces the Calviniſm of Grindal. The review of the Common Prayer was quickly finiſhed; and it was read, for the firſt time after its reſtoration, on Sunday, May 12, 1559, in the queen's chapel; and on the ſucceeding Wedneſday (May 15), it was ſolemnly read in St. Paul's church, after a prefatory ſermon, preached by Grindal.

No reader, at all verſed in the Hiſtory of the Reformed Churches, need be told, that the famous Jerom Zanchius ſubſcribed to ſome Lutheran peculiarities, concerning the Lord's Supper, under certain ſalvoes and reſtrictions of his own framing, and which he explicitly avowed. On this occaſion, Zanchy wrote to his old friend, Dr. Grindal, then biſhop of London. "Grindal anſwered Zanchy's letter, in one dated in Auguſt [1563], from Fulham: wherein he [biſhop Grindal] ſignified, that, ——for his own part, he attributed ſo much to Zanchy's piety and prudence, that he had a good opinion of all his actions; eſpecially, ſince he had the opinion of ſuch a learned man as Calvin, in what he had done. This, the biſhop ſaid, much confirmed him: being apt to attribute much to his [i. e. to Calvin's] judgment." The excellent prelate concluded with commending Zanchy to God, "Who, he doubted not, would give him a mouth and

(*q*) Ibid. p. 12.

wiſdom

wiſdom which the adverſaries of the truth could not reſiſt (*r*)."

In a foregoing (*s*) part of this work, I have taken ſome notice of one Juſtus Velſius, a Dutch free-willer, who, A. D. 1563, made much noiſe in London. He was, what would now be called an Arminian-perfectioniſt. "The biſhop of London [Dr. Grindal] was concerned with this man, both as he was of the Dutch congregation, and had made diſturbance there, over which our biſhop was ſuperintendent; as alſo becauſe his opinions came as far as the ears of the court. For he [Velſius] preſumed in the month of March, to write bold letters to the ſecretary [of State]; nay, to the queen herſelf: ſuperſcribing to the queen, *Ad proprias manus:* ſending withall his book unto them. Which he did, alſo, two months before, to the biſhop: avowing it to be by him conceived and writ from the enlightening of the ſpirit of Chriſt.

"The biſhop therefore thought very fit, and that upon the ſecretary's advice, to write ſhortly ſome animadverſions upon it [i. e. upon Velſius's hetorodox book]. Therein he [the biſhop] obſerved, 1. That he [Velſius] ſet forth no confeſſion of faith, as he ought; but preſcribed a rule, according to which he would have all conſciences to be tried. Nor was there any mention of faith. And that he craftily paſſed over juſtification by faith; and what he thought of the powers in man, and free-will, and what concerning works. (2.) That, in thoſe things, it was moſt certain, he had, in foreign parts, deſperately erred, and diſquieted men's conſciences, and taught matters contrary to orthodox doctrine; and that there were witneſſes then in England of it (*t*)." Beſide the tenet of free-will, and juſtification by works, wherein the biſhop affirmed this Pelagian to have "deſperately erred;" there were ſeveral other

(*r*) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 76. (*s*) See above, Sect. 6. p. 105. (*t*) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 92.

monſtrous

monſtrous opinions, for which that able prelate ſeverely cenſured the ſaid Velſius: ſuch as the doctrine of a two-fold regeneration, to wit, of the outward man, and the inward; and that a believer is godded into God. But the biſhop's judgment, concerning Velſius's mad tenet of ſinleſs perfection, deſerves particular notice: "Hence it appeared, why he [Velſius] had ſaid before, we are that which Chriſt is, and Chriſtians are gods in men: becauſe he had a mind to affirm perfection, which he feigned to be in a Chriſtian, and that all Chriſtians were gods, that is, free of all ſpot and fault. Which arrogance, how deteſtable it is, there is no pious man but ſees. —He could not more openly reject the doctrine of faith, and the remiſſion of ſins, and ſo ſet up a new goſpel (*u*)." Nothing could be more wild, and remote from truth, than Velſius's corrupt doctrines: nothing more ſober, ſound, and ſcriptural, than good biſhop Grindal's Calviniſtical animadverſions.— In concluſion, Velſius was "Cited before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion; where the biſhop of London [Dr. Grindal], and the biſhop of Wincheſter [Dr. Horne], and the dean of St. Paul's [Dr. Alexander Nowell], conferred roundly with him, expoſing the errors of his book before mentioned: which he ſtubbornly endeavouring to vindicate, they at laſt charged him, in the queen's name, to depart the kingdom (*x*)."—This was the ſame Velſius, with whom Calvin himſelf had held a public diſputation, concerning free-will at Frankford, in 1556 (*y*). I will not venture to ſay, that another divine (named Horne), who likewiſe diſputed againſt Velſius at the ſame place, in the ſame year, and on the ſame ſubject, was our Engliſh Dr. Horne, afterwards the biſhop of Wincheſter, juſt mentioned: tho', to me, it ſeems extremely probable. Certain it is, that biſhop Horne was then an exile in Germany, for the Pro-

(*u*) Ibid, p. 93. (*x*) Ibid. (*y*) Bayle, vol. v. p. 450.

teſtant

teſtant faith; and that he continued ſo, all through the reign of queen Mary (z).

Another evidence of Grindal's Calviniſm preſents itſelf, under the year 1566. "Theodore Beza, late aſſiſtant to Calvin, and now the chief miniſter of Geneva, made a preſent, this year, to biſhop Grindal of his annotations on the New Teſtament: and the ſame reverend father [i. e. the biſhop], ſoon after, ſent him [i. e. ſent Beza] a letter thanking him for the book; and withall a gratification. What it [i. e. what Grindal's preſent to Beza] was, I cannot tell: perhaps, it was the biſhop's picture, or his ring. But Beza called it, *Longe maximum gratiſſimumque tui* μνημοσυνον, i. e. A very great and moſt acceptable remembrance of himſelf, which he would keep for his ſake. The biſhop, in his letter, had much commended his [Beza's] annotations, as accurate and learned: but Beza modeſtly declined the praiſe, and added, that then they might ſeem ſuch as the biſhop had characterred them, when they ſhould be critically corrected by him, and by ſuch learned men as he (a).——How "much" ſoever the biſhop "commended" Beza's annotations, hardly any ſtrain of commendation could exceed the merits and value of thoſe admirable notes; or the learning, judgment, and piety, of that eminent ſupra-lapſarian writer.

Geneva, tho' never epiſcopized ſince its reformation from Popery, was nevertheleſs regarded and cheriſhed by queen Elizabeth, by her ſtateſmen, and by the Engliſh biſhops, as a ſiſter-church, harmonizing with our own, in doctrinals; tho' not conſentaneous to it, in ceremonials. Some time in the year 1581, that famous Proteſtant city had like to have been enſlaved by an enterprizing Popiſh

(z) "Ubi [in Germania, ſcil.], Mariâ regnante, vixerat in exilio." Godwin. De Præſulib. Angl. p. 238.

(a) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 112.

neighbour

neighbour (the duke of Savoy); but was relieved by a ſeaſonable acceſſion of forces from the Swiſs Cantons. The expences, however, to which the neceſſary preparations for defence had put the citizens, obliged them to have recourſe to the benevolence of other Proteſtant communities. Amongſt the reſt, England was applied to, through the intervention of the queen's ambaſſador in France, and of good Dr. Grindal at home. The ambaſſador's importunate letter, written, on this occaſion, to Sir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate, may be read in Strype (*b*). The matter being laid before the queen, her majeſty and privy council diſpatched circular letters to all the biſhops of England, deſiring them "To promote a liberal charity upon this occaſion, through their ſeveral dioceſes:" and ſtyling it "a needful ſervice for the church (*c*)."—The queen and council farther obſerved, in their letter to each biſhop reſpectively, that the town of Geneva ſeemed to have "Deſerved the fruits of Chriſtian compaſſion, by former courteſies and favours, ſhewed to ſundry her majeſty's ſubjects, during the late perſecution in queen Mary's time: wherein, as they ſhall render charity for charity, and give good demonſtration to the world, that, in their wealth and peace, they are not careleſs of the afflictions of Joſeph; ſo ſhall you give us cauſe to think, that you not only care, as in Chriſtian compaſſion you are bound, to relieve the preſent diſtreſs of that poor town, which, thro' God's goodneſs, hath ſerved, in this latter age, for a nurſery unto God's church; but alſo to ſatisfy this our requeſt: to the end we may continue that good opinion we have of your lordſhip (*d*)."

Thus was Geneva conſidered as a "nurſery to God's church;" and her diſtreſſes were termed, "the afflictions of Joſeph."—A letter, iſſued, ſoon

(*b*) U. ſ. p. 278. (*c*) Strype, Ibid. 279. (*d*) Ibid. p. 280.

after

after by archbiſhop Grindal, as metropolitan, to the prelates of his province, breathed the ſame ſpirit of tenderneſs and brotherly affection for the ſaid city and church of Geneva. "Conſidering," ſaid his grace, "that under her majeſty, and their lordſhips of her moſt honourable privy council, the immediate charge of the province doth appertain to me; and, eſpecially, of the clergy; and the conſideration of this pitiful relief, tending to the defence of ſo notable and ſincere a church; ——I thinke it my part and bounden duty, to recommend the furtherance of ſo good a cauſe to your lordſhip (*e*)."

I am not inſenſible, that this excellent primate has been maliciouſly charged with leaning to puritaniſm: which charge, were it proveable, might go far toward invalidating that branch of my argument for the doctrinal Calviniſm of the church, drawn from the doctrinal Calviniſm of this her good archbiſhop. But by whom is the bill filed againſt him? Chiefly, by that hiſtoric knight of the poſt, Peter Heylyn: a writer, who had long taken a final leave of truth, whenever it ſtood in his way; and who was quite petrified to every feeling of ſhame. There are accumulated proofs, that Grindal was rather a bigot to the conſtitution and diſcipline of the church, than that his attachment to either was lax and cool. Inſtances occurred, in the courſe of his adminiſtration, wherein his zeal, for the exteriors of our eccleſiaſtical fabric, out-weighed, perhaps, that due proportion of moderation and temper, which he has been falſely repreſented as poſſeſſing to an extreme. A ſhort teſtimony, or two, from judicious and diſpaſſionate writers, ſhall, at preſent, ſuffice to ſupport the remark now made. Should future occaſion require more ſolid proofs, I can carry my appeal to ſome prolix, but moſt concluſive and inconteſtable facts.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 281.

Dr.

Dr. Grindal had, at firſt, his ſcruples reſpecting conformity. But 'tis no leſs true, that he did not accept of preferment in the church, 'till thoſe ſcruples were ſolved to the ſatisfaction of his own mind. The ſatisfactory ſolution of which ſcruples rendered him, afterwards, (I will not ſay, a fiercer, but) a much warmer churchman, than if he had conformed, hand over head, without previouſly examining matters for himſelf.

" Upon his firſt coming over from his exile, queen Elizabeth being poſſeſſed of the crown, when preferment in the church was to be laid upon him, his dread of Popery created him ſome demur in accepting the ſame: fearing to comply with the very appearances and ſhadows of it, in the habits and ſome other rites appointed, 'till he had ſatisfaction, partly by ſerious conſideration with himſelf, and partly by the advice of certain foreign divines; chiefly Peter Martyr and Henry Bullinger, men of the greateſt learning in divinity that age afforded.— And therefore, afterwards, when ſome, for theſe external matters in religious worſhip, made ſeditions, and brake the churches quiet; he [Grindal] thought himſelf bound, as a faithful and careful overſeer of the church of Chriſt in England (when all his mild perſuaſions and arguments proved ineffectual), to proſecute the refuſers, and to uſe the ſeverer methods, warranted by the laws, againſt them (*f*).——His zeal and affection to the ſtate of the reformed Church of England ſhewed itſelf, as on every occaſion, ſo, particularly, in endeavouring to reclaim thoſe they ſtiled Preciſians and Puritans; who, for ſome few ceremonies, made a breach in Chriſtian communion. Tho' his ſpirit was eaſy and complaiſant, and liked not of rigour; yet, when he ſaw that no other means would bring them to obedience, he approved of reſtraint: eſpecially of the heads of

(*f*) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 295. (*g*) Ibid. p. 302.

the

the faction; whom he ſtiled, fanatical and incurable (*g*)." Even Collier, it ſeems, vindicates our prelate from Heylyn's charge. "He was," ſays Jeremy, "no negligent governor, nor a perſon of latitude, or indifference for the ceremonies of the church (*b*)." In the judgment of the famous lord Bacon, Dr. Grindal was "the greateſt and graveſt prelate of this land (*i*)." And, amidſt all the inſults he ſuffered from his con-temporary aſperſors, and all the malicious dirt with which his venerable memory has been pelted ſince his deceaſe; it reflects no ſmall ray of honour on his name, to add, that he had "A great reſpect to Calvin, Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, Zanchy, and the reſt of the pious foreign reformers (*k*)."

(3.) Dr. John Whitgift, ſucceeded Grindal, in the metropolitical chair, A. D. 1583. He was a prelate of great abilities, and of warm piety; ſound in the faith, and very zealous for the church. If any branches of his conduct tended to ſhade, in ſome degree, the brightneſs of his acknowledged virtues; the extreme rigour which the non-conformiſts experienced at his hands, and the perpetual incenſe of profuſe adulation which he ſeldom failed to offer at the ſhrine of ſecular power, ſeem the moſt (perhaps, the only) vulnerable parts of his character.—And yet, on one hand, truth obliges us to confeſs, that ſome, among the then Puritans, were perſons of the moſt intractable and exaſperating perverſeneſs, whoſe ſeparation from the eſtabliſhment was formed on the narroweſt principles of prejudice, and whoſe outrageous zeal againſt the hierarchy and ceremonies of the church tranſported them beyond all bounds of moderation and decency. While Proteſtants, agreeing in doctrinals, were thus biting and devouring one another about rituals; Rome,

(*g*) Ibid. p. 302. (*b*) See the Biog. Dict. vol. vi. p. 157.
(*i*) Strype, u. ſ. p. 300. (*k*) Strype, Ibid. p. 307.

the

the common enemy to both, laughed and enjoyed the ſport.—On the other hand, let it be remembered, in extenuation of Whitgift's laviſh complaiſance to the court, that he lived under the jealous eye of a high-ſpirited queen, who was conſtantly on the watch for every occaſion of ſkrewing up her eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy to the utmoſt height.

Strong, and numerous, are the evidences of this archbiſhop's orthodoxy. I ſhall briefly ſelect a few.

Some time in the reign of Elizabeth, one Peter Baro, or Baron, born at Eſtampes, a city of Gaſtinois, in France, thought proper to viſit England, in quality of a Proteſtant refugee. A proteſter, 'tis true, he was: for he had not been long ſettled at Cambridge, before he publicly entered his proteſt againſt ſome eminent doctrines of the church eſtabliſhed, which had ſo generouſly ſheltered him in her boſom.

Our Univerſities were, at that time, like our monarchs, defenders of the faith. Cambridge was all in alarm, at the heterodoxies vented by the French divinity profeſſor. Complaint was made, that he "Taught the Popiſh doctrine of the co-operation of faith and works to juſtification: that he laboured to make men believe, that the reformed church's doctrine was not ſo differing from Popiſh doctrine, but that, by diſtinctions, they might be reconciled: with other ſtrange matters, which they" [viz. the complainants, who were the heads of the Univerſity] "looked upon as damnable errors;——being the highway, not only to Popery, but to Atheiſm (*l*)."

Dr. Fuller (*m*) gives us ſome other propoſitions, maintained by Baro: which propoſitions, tho' moderately orthodox (at leaſt, the heterodoxies were ſo decently wrapped up, as to elude a ſuperficial

(*l*) Wood's Faſti, 1. 741. (*m*) Hiſt. of Camb. p. 145.

eye),

eye), were deemed of ambiguous conſtruction, and therefore branded in due ſeaſon.

The tranſactions at Cambridge, relative to Baro, could not long eſcape biſhop Whitgift's notice. This wakeful and diſcerning guardian of the church appears to have been doubtful of Baro, from the firſt; and never to have rightly reliſhed the unſuſpecting patronage, afforded, by lord Burleigh, to that artful foreigner. The event proved, that Whitgift could better ſee into church matters, with one eye, than Burleigh could, with two. The good prelate thought, among other particulars, that Baro was not ſo tight a predeſtinarian, as the Church and Univerſities of England then expected a divinity-profeſſor to be. Whitgift, ſays Mr. Strype, had his "Objections againſt Baro, for ſome tenets, differing, as was thought, from the true doctrine of the decrees of God concerning the final ſtate of man (*n*)." Nor did his lordſhip prove miſtaken.

It was not 'till the year 1595, that Baro ventured to unmaſque his batteries againſt the eſtabliſhed doctrine of predeſtination, in his ſermon *ad clerum*. This ſermon gave vaſt and deſerved offence, both to the church and to the court of England: for not only the biſhops and the leading clergy were diſpleaſed, but, as Mr. Strype expreſsly affirms, "The queen alſo ſhewed herſelf particularly angry with Baro, in ſome diſcourſe ſhe had of theſe matters with the archbiſhop (*o*):" to whom her majeſty juſtly obſerved, that Baro, "Being an alien, ought to have carried himſelf quietly and peaceably in a country where he was ſo humanely harboured, and where both he and his family had been infranchiſed (*p*)." The archbiſhop, tho' he equally diſapproved both the Pelagianiſm and the contentious proceedings of Baro, candidly endeavoured to ſoften the queen's

(*n*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 94. (*o*) Life of Whitg. p. 464. (*p*) Ibid. p. 465.

reſentment againſt him; and was probably the means of reſtraining it from falling with weight on the French delinquent's head.

Baro and William Barrett diſtinguiſhed themſelves, about one and the ſame time, as oppoſers of predeſtination, in the Univerſity of Cambridge: and Heylyn himſelf gives us to underſtand, that they, and one Harſenet, were the firſt Proteſtant divines, ſince the Reformation, by whom the Calviniſtic ſyſtem was publicly attacked. Mr. Tindal, the hiſtorian, has the ſame remark; "The predeſtinarian controverſy" [i. e. the controverſy agitated againſt predeſtination] "was begun in 1595, by Barrett, fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, who preached againſt Calvin's doctrine of predeſtination, &c. for which he was cenſured by the Univerſity, and forced to retract in St. Mary's church. He was afterwards ſent to Lambeth, and examined before archbiſhop Whitgift; who enjoined him to confeſs his errors, and not teach the like doctrines for the future: but he choſe rather to quit the Univerſity [and openly declare himſelf a Papiſt beyond ſea]. This gave occaſion for the famous Lambeth articles: in which the Calviniſtical ſenſe of predeſtination, election, and the other controverted points, is ſtrongly aſſerted; and to which the ſcholars in the Univerſities were ſtrictly enjoined to conform (*q*)."

Tho' Whitgift, as already obſerved, generouſly interceded with the queen, in behalf of Baro's perſon; yet was he warmly diſpleaſed with the innovating inſolence of that pragmatical Frenchman, who, preſuming too far on the tenderneſs and moderation with which he had been hitherto forborne, dared, at length, to broach the following doctrines; which, being too groſsly Pelagian for any further toleration, raiſed a ſtorm againſt him, that all his craft and intereſt could never afterwards compoſe.

(*q*) Contin. of Rapin's Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 280.

"*Docuit*,

" *Docuit, Deum omnes & ſingulos, abſolutâ voluntate, ad vitam æternam creaſſe.*

" *Voluntatem Dei duplicem eſſe, viz. antecedentem, & conſequentem. Antecedente quidem voluntate, Deum neminem rejeciſſe.*

" *Chriſtum mortuum eſſe pro omnibus & ſingulis.*

" *Promiſſiones Dei ad vitam univerſales eſſe: & æque ſpectare ad Cainum & Abelem, Eſavum atque Jacobum, Judam atque Petrum; & Cainam non magis a Deo fuiſſe rejectum, quam Abelem, antequam ſe excluſerat (r).*"

That is: " God created all and every individual of mankind, with a real will to ſave them.

" The will of God is twofold: antecedent, and conſequent. God reprobates no man, by his will of antecedence.

" Chriſt died for all and every individual of the human race.

" God's promiſes, reſpecting eternal life, are univerſal: and were made equally to Cain and Abel, to Eſau and Jacob, to Judas and Peter. Nor, 'till Cain excluded himſelf, was he any more rejected of God, than was Abel."

Theſe were the four monſtrous propoſitions, for which Baro was proſecuted in the vice-chancellor's court. In an age, when even a ſlack predeſtinarian, or an Half-Calviniſt, was ſtarted at, as a ſhocking phænomenon; a groſs free-willer, a palpable univerſaliſt (who preached up an ignorant, a dependent, a diſappointed, and a changing deity, as an object of rational worſhip), might well be ſhunned and exclaimed againſt, as a

Monſtrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.

Lord Burleigh was then chancellor of Cambridge. Partly, through his lordſhip's bad ſtate of health at that time, which would not permit him to treat Univerſity matters with his uſual attention; and,

(r) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 470.

partly, from a principle of compaſſion to the heterodox foreigner as a foreigner; Baro was not (as Barrett, the Engliſh Pelagian, had juſt been) violently diſplaced, but allowed to reſign. The archbiſhop, however, in a previous converſation with him, took him ſeverely to taſk: of which his grace gave ſome account, in a letter to Doctor Goad, the vice-chancellor; in which letter the archbiſhop informed Goad, "That he was very ſorry that Doctor Baro, notwithſtanding all the advertiſements [or admonitions] which had been given to him, and his [i. e. Baro's] faithful promiſe made to him [i. e. to himſelf the archbiſhop], did nevertheleſs continue his troubleſome courſe of contending. That he [the archbiſhop] had, of late, by Dr. Neville, ſignified to him [to Baro], how hardly her majeſty had been informed againſt him for theſe cauſes: and how unfit it was, that he, being a ſtranger, and receiving ſuch courteſy and friendſhip here, of good will, and not for any need we had of him; ſhould be ſo buſy in another commonwealth, and make himſelf as it were author of new ſtirs and contentions in this church. That at his laſt being with him, he [the archbiſhop] ſhewed to him [to Baro] the propoſitions [i. e. the Lambeth articles], and demanded his opinion of every one of them ſeverally, and that at two ſeveral times: and altho', the latter time, Baro ſeemed to make ſome frivolous and childiſh objections againſt ſome one or two of them only; yet did he confeſs that they were all true, and that they did not impugn any of his aſſertions (*s*)."

What a frontlet of braſs muſt Baro have poſſeſſed, ere he could go about to face down archbiſhop Whitgift with this moſt gigantic of untruths, that none of his (i.e. of Baro's) aſſertions were impugned by any thing contained in the Lambeth articles! No other poſſible overſtrain of falſehood can tranſcend

(*s*) Strype's Whitgift, p. 468, 469. ubi plura.

ſcend the enormity of this. I know but of one, that can any way pretend to come up with it: viz. the declaration of thoſe modeſt Arminians, who affirm, that there is nothing in the XXXIX Articles, which any way impugns the doctrines of Pelagius and Van Harmin.—The fellow, who averred, that he once drove a ten-penny nail through the moon; and his companion, who added, that he remembered it very well, for he himſelf ſtood on the other ſide, and clinched it; were but dwarfs in the art of audacious falſification, when compared with Baro the firſt, and with thoſe numerous ſwarms of modern Baros, who have, ſince, ſo plentifully overſpread the face of the Church of England.

The moſt important of Baro's "aſſertions," as he called them, for which he loſt his preferments, have been already ſpecified. Let the reader only compare thoſe aſſertions, with the Lambeth articles; and he will immediately perceive, with what modeſty and veracity, Baro would have perſuaded the archbiſhop, that there was no contrariety between the two ſyſtems.

The articles of (*t*) Lambeth (ſo called, becauſe drawn up at Lambeth palace, under the eye, and with the aſſiſtance, of archbiſhop Whitgift himſelf; in concert with Bancroft, then biſhop of London, afterwards tranſlated to Canterbury; together with Vaughan, biſhop of Bangor; Tindal, dean of Ely; Dr. Whitaker, the queen's divinity-profeſſor; and other eminent dignitaries of the church; the articles of Lambeth, drawn up, as aforeſaid, by theſe great prelates and divines) exhibit alſo an irrefragable proof of the primate's Calviniſm. Tranſlated into Engliſh, they run thus.

"1. God hath, from eternity, predeſtinated certain perſons to life; and hath reprobated certain perſons unto death.

(*t*) For a fuller account of thoſe articles, and the occaſion of them, ſee my Church vindicated from Arminianiſm.

" 2. The moving, or efficient cauſe of predeſtination unto life, is not the foreſight of faith, or of perſeverance, or of good works, or of any thing that is in the perſons predeſtinated: but the alone will of God's good pleaſure.

" 3. The predeſtinate are a pre-determined and certain number, which can neither be leſſened, nor increaſed.

" 4. Such as are not predeſtinated to ſalvation, ſhall inevitably be condemned on account of their ſins.

" 5. The true, lively, and juſtifying faith, and the ſpirit of God juſtifying, is not extinguiſhed, doth not utterly fail, doth not vaniſh away, in the elect, either finally, or totally.

" 6. A true believer, that is, one who is endued with juſtifying faith, is certified, by the full aſſurance of faith, that his ſins are forgiven, and that he ſhall be everlaſtingly ſaved by Chriſt.

" 7. Saving grace is not allowed, is not imparted, is not granted to all men, by which they may be ſaved if they will.

" 8. No man is able to come to Chriſt, unleſs it be given him, and unleſs the Father draw him: and all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to his Son.

" 9. It is not in the will or power of every man to be ſaved (*u*)."

Such were theſe famous articles; concerning which, his grace of Canterbury expreſſed himſelf in the following very remarkable terms: " I know them to be ſound doctrines, and uniformly profeſſed in this Church of England, and agreeable to the articles of religion eſtabliſhed by authority (*x*)." Under this juſt perſuaſion, he communicated them to his brother of York, Doctor Matthew Hutton: who returned them, with ſome judicious remarks

(*u*) See Strype's Whitgift, p. 461. (*x*) Ibid. p. 459.

(which

(which ſee in Strype), and with this remarkable ſubſcription:

Hæ theſes ex Sacris literis vel apertè colligi, vel neceſſariâ conſecutione deduci, poſſunt; et ex ſcriptis Auguſtini.

Matth. Ebor.

That is: "Theſe poſitions are gatherable from the Holy Scriptures, either expreſsly, or by neceſſary conſequence; and alſo from the writings of St. Auſtin.

"Matthew York."

The Lambeth articles, thus approved by the archbiſhops of both provinces, were forwarded to Cambridge; accompanied by a letter, from Whitgift himſelf, to that Univerſity: wherein he requeſted the heads of houſes, "To take care, that nothing be publicly taught to the contrary," i. e. contrary to thoſe articles: adding, that he thought the ſaid nine articles "to be true, and correſpondent to the doctrine profeſſed in the Church of England, and eſtabliſhed by the laws of the land (*y*)."

The reader may, poſſibly, wiſh to know what became of Peter Baro. Dr. Hutton, archbiſhop of York, was for having him treated with exemplary ſeverity. Whitgift had wrote to Hutton, on the laſt day of February, 1595, "wherein among other things, he deſired his opinion of Baro's aſſertions: when that prelate [viz. his grace of York,], in his anſwer, ſhewed how little he liked of Baro and his learning; wiſhing, that Baro was in his own country, and not to have diſturbed the peace of our church: and would have one to be put in his place, who was learned, godly, and mild of nature; and that Cambridge afforded ſtore of ſuch (*z*)." Thus, in the judgment of that grave archbiſhop, to preach

(*y*) Strype, Ibid. p. 462. (*z*) Strype, Ibid. p. 476.

againſt predeſtination was to "diſturb the peace of the church:" and the plain drift of his advice was, that Baro ſhould be diſplaced from his office at Cambridge, and be baniſhed to France, his native ſoil; where, without moleſtation, he might ſafely diſſeminate his Pelagian tares among his Popiſh countrymen.

But Whitgift (prompted either by his own candour, or, which is more probable, by his profound deference to lord Burleigh) was for purſuing more ſnug and gentle meaſures. He prudently deemed it ſufficient, to avail himſelf of Baro's natural timidity, which with proper management, would make the French free-willer glad to quit the Univerſity, and ſheer off into his primitive obſcurity. This was toſſing up matters, with leſs noiſe, than if he had been formally diveſted of his profeſſorſhip; and anſwered, to better advantage, all the purpoſes of more oſtenſible rigour. The end of his tri-ennial lectures drawing near, the Univerſity were determined not to re-elect him, but to turn him decently and quietly adrift. "He himſelf was ſenſible thereof, and beſides, he ſaw the articles of Lambeth lately ſent to the Univerſity; and foreſaw, that ſubſcription thereunto would be expected from, yea, impoſed on him. To which he could not condeſcend: and therefore reſolved to quit his place. So that his departure was not his free act, out of voluntary election; but that whereunto his will was neceſſarily determined. Witneſs his own return to a friend, who required of him the cauſe of his withdrawing: *Fugio*, ſaid he, *ne fugarer*; I fly, that I may not be driven away (*a*)." So writes Dr. Fuller. And, matters ſtanding thus, we cannot wonder that Anthony Wood ſhould ſtile Baro's decampment, a removal: "He was," ſays that writer, "removed from his place of Margaret profeſſor, about the year

(*a*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 152, 153.

1596;

1596; not without the conſent of Dr. Whitgift, archbiſhop of Canterbury (*b*)." The truth is, an Engliſh Univerſity, and the Church of England herſelf, were then too hot to hold an Arminian. More ſhame for poſterity, if our love to our own eſſential principles has, ſince, waxed ſo cold (tho' the ſaid principles themſelves, unchanged to this day, are alive to ſtare us in the face); that not a few Arminian ſalamanders, baſking in the rays of our eccleſiaſtic and academic ſun-ſhine can ſay, with ſome certain good people of old, Aha, I am warm: I have ſeen, and can ſtand, the fire (*c*) of ſubſcription, conformity, aſſent, and conſent; yea, I can even paſs through the fire, ſo dextrouſly, as not to ſinge an hair of my Pelagian Moloch's head.

Such caſuiſts remind me of an anecdote, or two, related, with much ſimplicity, by honeſt Whiſton.

He mentions an acquaintance of his (one Dr. Cannon), "Who would join with the church in ſigning the 39 articles, without believing them, as legal qualifications for preferment only." Every body knows, that Mr. Whiſton was a violent enemy to the doctrine of the Trinity; and, in particular, proclaimed eternal war againſt that admirable form of ſound words, commonly called the Athanaſian Creed. Whence, he thus proceeds in his information concerning the aforeſaid Dr. Cannon. "He joined with the Athanaſian creed itſelf, in the cathedral of Ely, at a time when I was there and refuſed it. I aſked him, how one that believed ſo very little, could join in a thing ſo abſurd?—His anſwer was, what is one man's meat is another man's poiſon. He alſo told Mr. Jackſon, that, if he were at Paris, he would declare himſelf a Roman Catholic; and, if he were at Conſtantinople, he would declare himſelf a Muſſulman.—He was ready to wonder at Mr. Jackſon, for believing St. Paul

(*b*) Faſti Oxon. i. 741. (*c*) Iſaiah xliv. 16.

before

before himſelf, when they [viz. St. Paul and Dr. Cannon] were of contrary ſentiments. So great an opinion had he of his own ſagacity (*d*)."

'Tis ſome little comfort, to conſider, that protean caſuiſtry, like that by which Dr. Cannon regulated his motions, is not peculiar to ſome who wear gowns and caſſocks. Who would have ſuſpected, ſo great a man, as the lord chancellor King, could have deviated into the ſame ſlippery path of Jeſuitical evaſion? "I muſt," ſays Whiſton, "tell a melancholy ſtory, of my own knowledge. When I was once talking with the [then] lord chief juſtice King, we fell into a debate about ſigning articles, which we did not believe, for preferment: which he openly juſtified; and pleaded for it, that we muſt not loſe our uſefulneſs for ſcruples.——Strange doctrine," adds Whiſton, "in the mouth of one bred up among diſſenters, whoſe whole diſſent from the legally eſtabliſhed church was built on ſcruples!—I replied, that I was ſorry to hear his lordſhip ſay ſo: and deſired to know, whether in their courts [viz. the temporal courts of law], they allowed of ſuch prevarication, or not? He anſwered, they did not allow of it. Which produced this rejoinder from me: ſuppoſe God Almighty ſhould be as juſt, in the next world, as my lord chief juſtice is in this? where are we then? To which he made no anſwer. And to which the late queen Caroline added, when I told her the ſtory, Mr. Whiſton, no anſwer was to be made to it (*e*).

"I conclude this matter, with that very pertinent and emphatical reply, which a fellow of Emmanuel College, in Cambridge, made to a friend of his, of the ſame college. The latter, at the reſtoration, had been repreſenting the great difficulties" [as they ſeemed to him] "of conformity, in point of

(*d*) Whiſton's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 112.
(*e*) Whiſton, Ibid. p. 162.

con-

conſcience: concluding, however, with theſe words, but we muſt live. To which the other anſwered only, with the like number of words, but we muſt [alſo] die. Than which, a better anſwer could not poſſibly be given (*f*)."——Let thoſe of the ſacred order, whom it may concern, weigh the anſwer well.

Peter Baro, tho' a Pelagian in grain, yet had not loſt all ſight of moral honeſty. Hence, he recoiled at ſubſcribing the Lambeth articles: yea, tho' he had, before, ſo far ſtrained his veracity, as to tell archbiſhop Whitgift, that thoſe articles did not contravene any of the doctrines he had been teaching at Cambridge.—What a contraſt, between the archbiſhop's faith, and that of the outed profeſſor! On the one hand, Whitgift affirmed, that the Lambeth articles "were undoubtedly true, and not to be denied of any ſound divine (*g*)." On the other, Baro choſe rather to forſake the Univerſity, than ſubſcribe them.

Let me juſt obſerve, that Monſieur Baro was, at one time, a man of a moſt acrimonious ſpirit, and would very willingly have perſecuted thoſe from whom he differed in opinion. For, this was the ſame Baro, who, ſome time before his own downfall, had the inſolence to ſtile the learned, holy, and laborious Mr. Perkins, of Cambridge, "*homuncio quidam*," in a letter to archbiſhop Whitgift: and even importuned (but without effect) Dr. Andrews, to exert his influence, that Mr. Perkins and Dr. Some might be diſplaced and ſilenced, How juſtly was the haughty, malicious Pelagian taken, himſelf, in the net which he had ſpread for others!

After his diſgraceful retreat from Cambridge, he ſettled in London: where (for a burnt child dreads the fire) his ſubſequent behaviour was ſo orderly and peaceable, that, dying three or four years after,

(*f*) Ibid. p. 169. (*g*) Strype's Life of Whitg. p. 463.

his

his funeral in St. Olave's, Hart-ſtreet, was attended by a reſpectable appearance of city divines, whoſe favour his dutiful ſubmiſſion to authority had deſervedly conciliated.—Thus quietly did the once boiſterous Dr. Baro finiſh his courſe; and thus were his latter days better than the former: as having the negative merit of raiſing no farther ſtorms in the academical atmoſphere, but of gliding gently and inoffenſively away within the peaceful banks of ſilent obſcurity.

Another remarkable inſtance of archbiſhop Whitgift's Calviniſm appears, in an injunction, which he iſſued, enjoining all clergymen, having care of ſouls, and not having taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, to provide themſelves with a Bible, and with Dr. Bullinger's Decads: which they were carefully to ſtudy and make extracts from.——The reader muſt be reminded, that Henry Bullinger, Author of the Decads abovementioned, was a moſt learned Proteſtant divine of Switzerland, a deep predeſtinarian, and a diſciple of the famous Zuinglius: on the (*b*) death

(*b*) Ulricus Zuinglius was the reformer of Switzerland, and may, as a prodigy of parts, grace, and uſefulneſs, be numbered among the moſt illuſtrious ornaments of the ſixteenth century.—In the year 1531, five of the Popiſh Cantons came to open hoſtilities with the two Proteſtant Cantons of Bern and Zurich. It has been affirmed, that Zuinglius was literally fighting for his faith and for his country, when he received the wound from the Popiſh forces, which deprived him of life. But the accurate Melchior Adamus, who was beſt qualified to know, poſitively denies that Zuinglius attended the Proteſtant camp in a military character: and affirms, that he only accompanied his heroic fellow citizens in quality of chaplain or paſtor [Vit. Theol. Germ. p. 38]; deeming it ungenerous aud diſhonourable, that his flock ſhould expoſe their lives, in defence of the truths they had received from him, without his participating the common danger. A reſolution the more magnanimous, as he had, from the very firſt, a conviction, ſtrongly impreſſed on his mind, that he ſhould not ſurvive the battle of that day.

The compilers of the Biographical Dictionary [vol. xi. p. 523.] in tranſlating ſome of Zuinglius's dying words, have been guilty of an overſight, which does no more honour to their preciſion, than juſtice to the Chriſtian heroiſm of that great man. "Upon receiving his

death of whom in 1531, Bullinger ſucceeded to the paſtoral care of the church of Zurich. So highly was this eminent foreign Calviniſt accounted of in our Church of England, that archbiſhop Whitgift, and the reſt of the biſhops (for a whole convocation of them concurred in the direction given), thought the Bible, and Bullinger's Decads, a neceſſary and ſufficient library for two parts in three of the eſtabliſhed clergy.—My authority follows.

"Orders for the better increaſe of learning, in the inferior miniſters; and for more diligent preaching and catechiſing, agreed upon by the archbiſhop and other biſhops in convocation [1586].

"Every miniſter, having cure, and being under the degrees of maſter of art, and bachelor of law, and not licenſed to be a public preacher, ſhall, before the ſecond day of February next, provide a Bible, and Bullinger's Decads in Latin or Engliſh, and a paper book: and ſhall, every day, read over one chapter of the Holy Scriptures; and note the

his death's wound," ſay they, "and falling, he was heard to utter theſe words, what a misfortune is this? &c." Rather, what a misfortune is it, when fine ſentiments are murdered in the relating!—The fact was this. During the hurry of the fight Zuinglius, overwhelmed by the preſs of the ruſhing enemy, was thrice thrown down, and recovered his feet as often. At laſt, a weapon, doomed to extinguiſh one of the moſt valuable lives that ever added luſtre to religion and learning, entering under his chin, transfixed his throat. The holy man, falling firſt on his knees, and then ſinking to the ground, uttered theſe noble ſentences: "Ecquid hoc infortunii? Can this be conſidered as a calamity? Age, corpus quidem occidere poſſunt; animam non poſſunt: Well! they are able, indeed, to ſlay the body: but they are not able to kill the ſoul" [Melch. Ad. u. ſ. p. 37]. Could any thing be more truly Chriſtian, more divinely triumphant, more ſublimely philoſophic?——His body being found by the Papiſts, among the ſlain, they burned it to aſhes: which occaſioned theſe elegant verſes, conſecrated to his memory by Beza.

Zuinglius arderet gemino quum ſanctus amore,
Nempe Dei imprimis, deinde etiam Patriæ;
Dicitur in ſolidum ſe devoviſſe duobus:
Nempe Deo imprimis, deiende etiam Patriæ.
Quàm benè perſolvit ſimul iſtis Vota duobus!
Pro Patriâ exanimis, pro Pietate Cinis!

principal

principal contents thereof, briefly in his paper book; and ſhall, every week, read over one ſermon in the ſaid Decads; and note likewiſe the chief matters, therein contained, in the ſaid paper book. And ſhall, once in every quarter, viz. within a fortnight before or after the end of the quarter, ſhew his ſaid notes to ſome preacher near adjoining, to be aſſigned for that purpoſe.—Item, Such as ſhall refuſe to perform the exerciſes, or ſhall be negligent therein; and ſhall not, after admonition by the biſhop or arch-deacon, or other ordinary aforeſaid, reform himſelf; if he be beneficed, [he] ſhall be compelled thereunto, by eccleſiaſtical cenſures: if he be a curate, [he] ſhall be inhibited to ſerve within the juriſdiction (*i*)."

One word more, and I take my leave of Whitgift. Soon after the archbiſhop's deceaſe, Dr. Benjamin Carier (who had been his grace's chaplain) publicly apoſtatized to the Church of Rome: and, with great virulence, fell foul on the memory of Calvin. Dr. George Hakewell, chaplain to prince Henry, was appointed to anſwer this ſhameleſs renegado. And, ſays Strype, "I cannot but add one paſſage, wherein the anſwerer put the apoſtate in mind of the archbiſhop, his old maſter; giving Carier a rebuke on his account, in regard of his [i. e. of Carier's] reproaching of Calvin and his writings, your old maſter [ſaid Hakewell], archbiſhop Whitgift, was of another mind;——labouring always, when any occaſion was offered, to countenance his own writings with Calvin's authority; and eſpecially out of that book which you moſt diſlike [viz. Calvin's Inſtitutions]: yielding him the title of a famous and learned man (*k*)." Such was that great and good prelate's veneration for the great and good Mr. John Calvin.

Thus have we ſeen, of what principles and ſpirit were the archbiſhops of Canterbury, all through the

(*i*) Strype's Whitgift, append. p. 113. (*k*) Life of Whitgift, p. 583.

reign

reign of Elizabeth, the illuſtrious refoundreſs of the Church of England. They were, in matters of doctrine, true Calviniſtic ſons of the Church; as they were, by ſtation, its venerable fathers and guardians.

A farther proof or two, out of many which remain yet unmentioned, ſhall be added to the evidences, already given, of the inconteſtable Calviniſm of our Church during that queen's memorable reign.

XIV. Every body knows, that, when Mary of Scotland was brought to the block, in Fotheringay Caſtle, Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, was preſent, to offer that princeſs his ſpiritual ſervices. Though ſhe would not permit him to pray with her, the dean was determined to pray for her; and, of the prayer he made, the following remarkable paragraph is preſerved: "That it would pleaſe Almighty God to ſend her his holy ſpirit and grace; and alſo, if it were his will, to pardon all her offences, and of his mercy to receive her into his heavenly and everlaſting kingdom (*l*)." A petition, evidently formed on the higheſt principles of Calviniſm; and, of courſe, in exact harmony with the prevailing divinity of that age (*m*).

XV. It

(*l*) Robertſon's Hiſtory of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 479. octavo.

(*m*) The ſpeech, which the dean made to her majeſty of Scots, was no leſs Calviniſtical than his prayer. In it, were theſe paſſages: —"That you may be found of God, not having your own righteouſneſs, which is defiled and unclean, but the righteouſneſs of God, by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, upon all and in all them that believe.—— The ſpecial means to attain to forgiveneſs of ſins, is neither in man, nor by man; but by faith only in Jeſus Chriſt crucified; in whom we, being juſtified, have peace with God, and all ſpiritual ſecurity. ——If you flee to the throne of God, with boldneſs only in Chriſt's meritorious obedience, and apply it to your ſoul with the hand of true faith, your croſs ſhall be your life, and your death ſhall be your vantage. O, madam, truſt not the devices which God's word doth not warrant.——To Chriſt give all the Scriptures teſtimony, that, through faith in his blood, we and all God's Church ſhall receive remiſſion of ſins." The queen interrupted him, three or four times,

in

XV. It was during Elizabeth's reign, that one Campneys, a reſtleſs and abuſive Pelagian, ſought to diſturb the peace of the Church, by publiſhing a defamatory tract in oppoſition to the received doctrine of predeſtination.

This Campneys had, ſome years before, rendered himſelf very obnoxious to the Proteſtant government, in the time of king Edward VI. His affection to Popery, and his abhorrence of the reformation effected under the auſpices of that prince, had been ſo turbulently and ſo indecently expreſſed, and were ſo generally known even in the ſucceeding century, as to wring out the following reluctant conceſſion from the pen of Peter Heylyn himſelf: viz. that this Campneys was "of a ſharp and eager ſpirit." and "not well weaned from ſome points of Popery, in the firſt dawning of the day of our reformation (*z*)." The truth is, his inſolencies againſt the reformed Church of England laid him open to the laws: and he "was made to bear a faggot at Paul's Croſs, in king Edward's time; the learned and pious Miles Coverdale [biſhop of Exeter] preaching a ſermon when that puniſhment was inflicted on him.

"When queen Elizabeth had reſtored the true religion, Campneys began to play his old pranks; i. e. to cauſe diſturbance, by nibbling at ſuch who were deſervedly honoured and preferred in the Church: publiſhing a pamphlet, to which he had not courage enough to affix his name, againſt predeſtination. This pamphlet was encountered by Mr. John Veron, a chaplain to the queen, and

in the courſe of his exhortation; ſaying, maſter dean, trouble not yourſelf nor me; for know, that I am ſettled in the ancient, catholic, Romiſh religion.—The earls of Shrewſbury and Kent, who were appointed to ſee her executed, made the following Calviniſtical addreſs to her: "Madam, we will pray for your grace, with maſter dean, [that] if it ſtand with God's good will, you may have your heart enlightened, &c."—Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 386—388.

(*z*) Heylyn's Miſcell. Tracts, p. 590.

reader

reader of the divinity lecture in St. Paul's Church: as alſo by Mr. Robert Crowley, ſometime fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, at that time a famous preacher in London. Both theſe put out anſwers to Campneys: and their anſwers were both licenſed and approved [by public authority]; and Veron's [book in favour of predeſtination] was dedicated to the queen herſelf. Whereas Campneys's virulent pamphlet came forth ſurreptitiouſly: neither author nor printer daring to put their names to it (*n*)."

I learn, from Heylyn, that the anſwer, written by Mr. Veron, and dedicated to the queen as aforeſaid, was entitled, "An Apology, or Defence of the Doctrine of Predeſtination." Wherein her majeſty's chaplain terms Campneys, "The Blind Guide of the Free-will Men:——a very Pelagian, and conſequently a rank Papiſt:—the ſtandard-bearer of the free-will men (*o*), &c." Would a chaplain to the queen, and the divinity lecturer of St. Paul's Cathedral, have made ſo free with free-will men, in a book inſcribed to his royal miſtreſs, and publiſhed *cum auctoritate*; if the doctrinal ſyſtem of the Church of England had not been deemed incontrovertibly Calviniſtic?

XVI. Among the particulars which I have already, in their due place, noted, concerning Martin Bucer, the reader muſt be reminded of two: viz. that, during his life-time, it was hardly poſſible for man to wind up the doctrine of predeſtination to a greater height, than was done by that great reformer; and that, after his deceaſe, when queen Mary introduced Popery again, his bones, together with thoſe of the learned Fagius, were dug up, at Cambridge, and publicly burned in the Market-place there, by order of cardinal Pole.

At the time of their exhumation by the Papiſts, Dr. Scot, the Popiſh biſhop of Cheſter, alledged, as

(*n*) Hickman's Animadv. on Heylyn's Quinq. Hiſt. p. 193, 194.—edit. 1674. (*o*) Heylyn's Miſc. Tr. p. 594.

one reaſon of that indecent revenge, that Martin Bucer, in particular, had drank in the hereſy of Wickliff, who aſſerted, "*omnia fato et abſolutâ neceſſitate fieri:* i. e. that whatever comes to paſs, is the reſult of fate and abſolute neceſſity (*p*)." Dr. Perne, the Popiſh vice-chancellor of Cambridge, preached a ſermon on the occaſion: wherein, "among other things, he told how Bucer held opinion, as he himſelf heard him confeſs, that God was the author and well-ſpring, not only of good, but alſo of evil: and that whatſoever was of that ſort, flowed from him, as from the head and maker thereof (*q*)." Dr. Watſon alſo, another zealous Papiſt, took the opportunity of making a public harangue: in which he exclaimed, "How perilous a doctrine is that, which concerneth the fatal and abſolute neceſſity of predeſtination! And yet they [meaning Bucer and Fagius] ſet it out in ſuch wiſe, that they have left no choice at all in things: as who ſhould ſay, It ſkilleth not what a man purpoſeth of any matter, ſince he had not the power to determine otherwiſe than the matter ſhould come to paſs. The which was the peculiar opinion of them, that made God the author of evil: bringing men, through this perſuaſion, into ſuch a careleſs ſecurity of the everlaſting eternity, that, in the mean ſeaſon, it made no matter, either toward ſalvation or damnation, what a man did in his life. Theſe errors were defended by them [i. e. by Bucer and Fagius] with great ſtoutneſs (*r*)." So ſpake the Romiſh doctors, in the reign of Mary: and thus (like too many oſtenſible Proteſtants ſince) did they ſlander and diſtort the holy and bleſſed doctrine of predeſtination.

Queen Elizabeth had a better opinion of Bucer and Fagius, and of the pure Proteſtant doctrine which they had maintained. She had not long been

(*p*) See Fox's Acts and Mon. iii. 645. (*q*) Fox, Ibid. p. 646. (*r*) Fox, Ibid. 648.

on

on the throne, when her majeſty gave a very promiſing preſage of her intention to reſtore the Church of England to its chaſtity of Calviniſm, in commanding the inſults, which had been offered to the remains of Bucer and Fagius, to be, as far as was practicable, publicly and ſolemnly reverſed, in the face of the whole Univerſity; and all poſſible honours to be rendered to the memories of thoſe diſtinguiſhed Calviniſts. For which purpoſe, letters of commiſſion were iſſued to Parker, archbiſhop of Canterbury; to Grindal, then biſhop of London; and to others.

Mr. Acworth was, at that time, public orator of Cambridge. Fox gives us the entire ſpeech, which that gentleman delivered, at, what was termed, "The reſtitution of Martin Bucer and Paulus Fagius." In the courſe of his oration, Acworth obſerved, concerning Bucer, "We ſaw [viz. in king Edward's reign], with our eyes, this Univerſity flouriſhing by his [Bucer's] inſtitutions: the love of ſincere religion not only engendered, but alſo confirmed and ſtrengthened, through his continual and daily preaching. Inſomuch that, at ſuch time as he was ſuddenly taken from us, there was ſcarce any man, that, for ſorrow, could find in his heart to bear with the preſent ſtate of this life: but that either he wiſhed, with all his heart, to depart out of this life with Bucer, and, by dying, to follow him into immortality; or elſe endeavoured himſelf, with weeping and ſighing, to call him again into the priſon of the body, leſt he ſhould leave us as it were ſtanding in battle without a captain. —— Oxford burnt up the right reverend fathers, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the noble witneſſes of the clear light of the goſpel. Moreover at London, periſhed thoſe two lanterns of light, Rogers and Bradford: in whom, it is hard to ſay, whether there were more force of eloquence and utterance in preaching, or more holineſs of life and converſation. What city

is there, that hath not flamed with the burning of holy bodies? But Cambridge—played the mad bedlam againſt the dead. The dead men (viz. Fagius and Bucer), whoſe (holineſs of) living no man was able to find fault with, whoſe doctrine no man was able to reprove, were, by falſe ſlanderers, indicted; contrary to the laws of God and man, ſued in the law; condemned; their ſepulchres violated, and broken up; their carcaſſes pulled out, and burned with fire.——Bucer, by the excellency of his wit and doctrine, known to all men; of our countrymen, in manner, craved, of many others intreated and ſent for, to the intent he might inſtruct our Cambridge men in the ſincere doctrine of the Chriſtian religion; he, being ſpent with age, and his ſtrength utterly decayed, forſook his own country; refuſed not the tedioufneſs of that long journey; was not afraid to adventure himſelf upon the ſea; but had more regard to the dilating and amplifying the Church of Chriſt, than to all other things. So, in concluſion, he came. Every man received and welcomed him. Afterward, he lived in ſuch wiſe, as it might appear he came not hither for his own ſake, but for ours. For, he ſought not to drive away the ſickneſs, which he had taken by troubleſome travel of his long journey. Albeit his ſtrength was weakened and appalled, yet he regarded not the recovery of his health; but put himſelf to immoderate labour and intolerable pain, only to teach and inſtruct us.—Toward this ſo noble and worthy a perſon, while he lived, were ſhewn all the tokens of humanity and gentleneſs, reverence and courteſy, that could be.—He had free acceſs into the moſt gorgeous buildings, and ſtately palaces of the greateſt princes: and, when he was dead, could not be ſuffered to enjoy ſo much as his poor grave (*s*)."

(*s*) Fox, Ibid. p. 649, 650.

I have

I have largely ſhewn, in a foregoing Section, what the doctrine of Bucer was. And the particulars, cited under the preſent article, demonſtrate, that, in the judgment of the Proteſtant Church and ſtate of England, *regnante Elizabethâ*, Bucer's Calviniſtic doctrine was eſteemed and taken to be "ſincere [i. e. pure, genuine] religion;"—"doctrine, which no man was able to reprove;"—yea, "the ſincere doctrine of the Chriſtian religion:" and that Bucer himſelf was a "noble" and "worthy" perſon; who, at his death, left our Church-of-England-Proteſtants almoſt "without a captain."—Let me add, that Dr. Pilkinton, then Margaret profeſſor of divinity, and, ſoon after, biſhop of Durham, preached the reſtitution-ſermon, from Pſalm cxi. Bleſſed is the man that feareth the Lord, &c. in honour of the ſaid Bucer and Fagius: and that "the entrance and walls of the Church were all hung with verſes in their praiſe. An account of this reſtitution the Univerſity, on the 3d of Auguſt [1560], ſent up to the archbiſhop and the commiſſioners; acquainting them, with what great joy, and triumph, and applauſe, it was generally done: and that as ſoon as their (the commiſſioners) letters (enjoining this public reſtitution of honours to the memories of Bucer and Fagius) were read to the ſenate, and the injuries offered (in the foregoing reign of Mary) to the dead bodies, by them mentioned; they were all preſently on fire to honour them (*t*)." The next year, in reſpect to the great Peter Martyr, then living beyond ſea, the remains of his wife (who had died and been buried at Oxford) were transferred from a dunghill, to which queen Mary's Papiſts had maliciouſly removed them, and honourably re-interred in Chriſt's Church (*u*). So careful was the

(*t*) Strype's Life of Parker, p. 85. (*u*) "On the 11th of January [1561], happened a remarkable action at Oxford: viz. the ſolemn reſtoring of Catherine Vermilia (ſometime the pious wife

the reſtored Church of England to teſtify her grateful regard for whatever had any relation to her pious, learned, Calviniſtical reformers.

XVII. It

of Peter Martyr) to honourable burial, after a ſtrange indignity offered [by the Papiſts, in 1556] to her corpſe. For our archbiſhop [Parker], together with Grindal, biſhop of London, Richard Goodrick, eſq. and others; by virtue, as it ſeems, of the queen's eccleſiaſtical commiſſion; deputed certain fit perſons in that Univerſity to enquire into a barbarous and inhuman uſage of that virtuous woman's dead body; who, [more than] two years after her burial, had been digged up, and carried away, and buried in a dunghill belonging to Dr. Marſhall, then dean of Chriſt's Church; whereof he himſelf was the great actor, by authority from Cardinal Pole.

"Her reſtitution was accordingly performed after this manner: The perſons, appointed for this buſineſs, cited thoſe who had been concerned in digging up the body; who, being charged, ſhewed them the place where ſhe was firſt buried; which was near St. Frideſwide's tomb, on the north part of Chriſt's Church. Then requiring where they had conveyed the corpſe, they were conducted towards Dr. Marſhall's ſtables: and there out of a dunghill, it was digged up, not quite conſumed. Which they cauſed to be carefully depoſited in a convenient receptacle, and ſo brought back therein to the ſaid church: leaving it thus to be watched by the officers of the church, 'till they might conveniently celebrate the reinterment.

"There were, belonging to the ſaid church, two ſilk bags, wherein the bones of St. Frideſwide were wrapt up and preſerved: which were wont, on ſolemn days, to be taken out, and laid upon the altar, to be openly ſeen and reverenced by the ſuperſtitious people. For the preventing any future ſuperſtitions with thoſe relics (and yet that no indecency might be uſed toward the ſaid ſaint and foundreſs's bones), and, withal, for the better ſecuring of this late buried holy woman's bones from being diſturbed any more; by the advice of Mr. Calfhill, the bones of both were mixed and put together, and ſo laid in the earth, in one grave, in the upper part of the ſaid church, towards the eaſt: after a ſpeech had been made, to a very great auditory, declaring the reaſon of the preſent undertaking.—And, on the next day, being the Lord's day, one of the ſociety, named Rogerſon, preached a learned and pious ſermon on the occaſion; and therein took notice of the cruelty exerciſed by Papiſts to the bodies of innocent and good men, which they burnt alive; and then, of the horrible inhumanity ſhewed to this pious matron's dead body; whoſe life he propounded as an excellent example to imitate. For her farther honour, the Univerſity hung upon the church doors many copies of Latin and Greek verſes, compoſed by eminent members thereof.—This is the ſum of what Calfhill, one of the chief managers, wrote to biſhop Grindal concerning this matter.

"The

XVII. It was in the orthodox reign of Elizabeth, that the learned Dr. Willet's ineſtimable book firſt appeared, entitled, *Synopſis Papiſmi*, or, A general View of Papiſtrie. In this performance, dedicated to the queen, and publiſhed by authority, and which is one of the very beſt batteries that were ever raiſed for the demolition of Popery, no fewer than fifteen hundred "hereſies and errors" are charged on the church of Rome, and moſt ably refuted, by that profound and indefatigable divine.

I cannot immediately recollect the exact date of the firſt edition. But a third came out, in 1600. My copy is of the fifth edition, 1634. The author was a prebendary of Ely, and moſt zealouſly attached

" The Papiſts have been twitted, by Proteſtants, with the baſe uſage of this good woman: and they, to leſſen their fault, have laboured to diſparage and defame her. One of them called her, Fuſtiluggs; being ſomewhat corpulent. This occaſioned Dr. George Abbot [afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury] in his excellent anſwer to that Romaniſt, to ſay ſome things remarkable of her: which he had the opportunity of knowing, being, himſelf, of the Univerſity of Oxford, and living in or near thoſe times. She was, ſaid he, reaſonably corpulent; but of moſt matron-like modeſty: for the which, ſhe was much reverenced by the moſt. She was of ſingular patience, and of excellent arts and qualities. Among other things, for her recreation, ſhe delighted to cut plum-ſtones into curious faces and countenances: of which, exceedingly artificially done, I once had one, with a woman's viſage and head-attire on one ſide, and a biſhop with his mitre on the other; which was the elegant work of her hands. By divers, yet living in Oxford [A. D. 1604]; this good woman is remembered, and commended, as for her other virtues, ſo for her liberality to the poor: which, by Mr. Fox, writing how ſhe was treated after her death, is rightly mentioned. For the love of true religion, and the company of her huſband, ſhe left her own country, to come into England, in king Edward's days. And ſo good was her fame here, that, when Papiſts, in queen Mary's time, being able to get nothing againſt her, being dead; would needs rage upon the bones of her, a woman, and a ſtranger; and took them out of her grave from Chriſtian burial, and buried them in a dunghill. Whereupon one made theſe verſes:

Fœmineum ſexum Romani ſemper amârunt:
Projiciunt corpus cur muliebre foras?
Hoc ſi tu quæras; facilis reſponſio danda eſt:
Corpora non curant mortua: viva petunt."

Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, p. 100, 101.

to the Church of England. Not a grain of Puritaniſm mingled itſelf with his conformity.—Let us hear what Strype ſays, relatively to the admirable work now under conſideration.

"Now alſo [A. D. 1600] Dr. Andrew Willet ſet forth a third edition of the *Synopſis Papiſmi*: which book gave a large account of all the controverſies between the church of Rome and the Proteſtant reformed church; with particular confutations of that degenerate church's errors. Or, as he himſelf ſaith of it, containing the whole ſum of that holy faith and religion, which the queen maintained, and the Church of England profeſſed (*x*)."

Of that "holy faith," which was "maintained by the queen," and "profeſſed by the Church of England;" the Calviniſtic doctrines were an eſſential and an eminent part. This will appear, by the following ſhort paſſages, extracted from the Synopſis itſelf.

(1.) Concerning predeſtination. "Predeſtination is the decree of God, touching the ſalvation and condemnation of men.

"God's preſcience is not the cauſe of predeſtination: for, how can the effect go before the cauſe? God's will is the cauſe of predeſtination.

"As he hath made all men, ſo hath he freely diſpoſed of their end, according to the counſel of his own will: ſelecting ſome, to be veſſels of honour; and rejecting others, to be veſſels of wrath. And this very well ſtandeth both with the mercy and juſtice of God, to ſave ſome, and reject others; for he might juſtly condemn all to eternal death (*y*)."

(2.) As to univerſal grace. "If God give grace unto ſome, to obey their calling, and thereby to be converted, and not to others; we muſt not be inquiſitive to ſearch, but leave it unto God, whoſe

(*x*) Life of Whitgift, p. 543.
(*y*) Synopſis Papiſmi, p. 881, 883.

judgments

judgments may be hid and ſecret, but are always moſt juſt: for he hath mercy on whom he will.

"It cannot be literally underſtood, that God would abſolutely have all men to be ſaved: for, why then ſhould not all be ſaved! For who hath reſiſted God's will? Neither can it be anſwered here, as ſometime by the old Pelagians, that God's will is not fulfilled, becauſe man will not: for this were to make men mightier than God (*z*)."

(3.) Limited redemption. "Here we are to conſider the beginning of election, the progreſs thereof, and the end.—The beginning: in that God, according to his good pleaſure, elected his, in Chriſt, before the foundation of the world.—The progreſs: in that he hath given the elect unto Chriſt, to be ſaved and redeemed by him.—The end is, that he hath purpoſed to bring them unto glory.

"Chriſt only was given to die for the company of the elect. Not that it [viz. Chriſt's death] is not ſufficient for the whole world, in itſelf; but becauſe the efficacy and benefit of Chriſt's death is only applied by faith to believers; and faith only is of the elect.—Chriſt died, only for thoſe that ſhould believe in him. But it is not given to all, to believe in Chriſt, except only to the elect which are ordained to life. *Ergo*, for them only Chriſt died (*a*)."

(4.) Concerning free-will. "They that affirm, that God offereth grace and faith equally to all; and that God would have all men to believe; and if they believe not, 'tis not for want of grace, but the fault is only in themſelves; do conſequently hold, that, to believe, is either wholly, or in part, in man's power.—The abſurdity of which opinion, we declare thus.

"All cannot have faith; but ſuch as are ordained and elected thereunto: John x. 26. John xii. 39. Acts xiii. 48. Faith, and every good gift;

(*z*) Ibid. p. 886. (*a*) Ibid. p. 893, 894.

the

the beginning, perfection, and end; is only of God: Rom. ix. 16. Phil. ii. 13. John xv. 5. John vi. 44. They that are drawn of God: muſt needs come unto Chriſt.

"The patrons of common grace do fall into a flat point of Pelagianiſm, whoſe aſſertion was this: *Vitam æternam omnibus paratam eſſe, quantum ad Deum; quantum ad arbitrii libertatem, ab eis eam apprehendi, qui ſponte Deo crediderunt*" [i. e. the Pelagian ſyſtem maintains, that eternal life is, on God's part, provided for all men; and is, on the part of free-will, to be lain hold upon by as many as ſpontaneouſly believe in God]. "This did the old Pelagians hold; this do the new univerſaliſts affirm (*b*).

"A freedom of will from neceſſity, we grant to have been in our firſt parents: whereby it was in their power, to have choſen either the good or the evil way. But ſince that by Adam's tranſgreſſion, the whole power of nature was ſhaken, and all the [ſpiritual] gifts and graces of creation decayed; there remaineth no freeneſs of will, unto good, in man: but only a voluntary promptneſs and inclination to evil without conſtraint (*c*)."

(5.) Hear him on juſtification. Under the head of "Popiſh ſubtle ſleights and diſtinctions," he deſervedly places the antichriſtian doctrine of "two juſtifications: the firſt, which is only of grace; and the ſecond, wherein we proceed daily by good works." By way of antidote againſt this palpable poiſon, Dr. Willet obſerves, that "The Scripture ſpeaketh of but one juſtification [before God], which glorification followeth: whom he juſtified, them he alſo glorified; Rom. viii. 30. If, then, this one juſtification do bring us to glorification, what need a ſecond (*d*)?

He adds, elſewhere. "Faith doth not juſtify us, by the worthineſs and dignity thereof; or as it

(*b*) Ibid. p. 908, 909. (*c*) Ibid. p. 931, 932. (*d*) Ibid. p. 993.

is

is a quality inherent in man, by any meritorious act, or by the work of believing; or as a proper, efficient cauſe: but by way of an inſtrument only; being as it were the hand of the ſoul, whereby we do apprehend the righteouſneſs of Chriſt.

"Faith, whereby we are juſtified, is paſſive in apprehending the promiſes of God in Chriſt, and applying Chriſt with all his benefits: in which reſpect, faith only juſtifieth. It is alſo active, in bringing forth good fruits, and in quickening of us to every good work; but ſo it juſtifieth not [except before men]. Faith, then, is inſeparably joined with hope and love, and neceſſarily yieldeth in us good fruit: but none of all theſe do concur with faith in the act of our juſtification: but it is the office only of faith, to apply unto us the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, whereby only we are made righteous before God (*e*)."

(6.) His teſtimony to the great doctrine of final perſeverance ſhall cloſe theſe extracts. "Theſe patrons of univerſal and conditional election and grace [viz. the Papiſts and Pelagians], who affirm, that men are no otherwiſe elected, but with condition, if they believe; and ſo long are they elected, as they continue in faith; do conſequently alſo hold, that men may both loſe their election, and loſe their faith: and, of veſſels of honour, if they fall from faith, become veſſels of wrath.—Now, on the contrary, that both our election is ſure before God, neither that the faith of the elect (though it may fail and impair, yet) cannot utterly be loſt, we are aſſured by the evident teſtimony of Scripture.

"All that are elected, ſhall be aſſuredly raiſed up to life eternal. And God, to ſuch as he hath choſen, will give grace to continue. They, therefore, that finally fall away, were not elected in the beginning. And that faith which ſome have made

(*e*) Ibid. p. 983. 985.

ſhipwreck

ſhipwreck of, is not the juſtifying faith of the elect; but a temporary, or hiſtorical faith. Men's falling away from faith, then, cannot make God's election void, as the Apoſtle ſaith: Shall their unbelief make the faith [i. e. the unalterable faithfulneſs] of God without effect? Rom. iii. 3. (*f*).

"The Papiſts ſay, a man may fall away from the faith which once truly he had, and be deprived altogether of the ſtate of grace, ſo that he may juſtly be counted among the reprobates.

"Our ſentence [i. e. the judgment and opinion of us Church of England men] is this: that he, who once hath received a true, lively faith, and is thereby juſtified before God, can never finally fall away. Neither can that faith utterly periſh, or fall in him. Though it may, for a while, ſomewhat decay, and be impaired; yet ſhall it revive, and he be raiſed up again (*g*)."

Such were the doctrines which queen Elizabeth "maintained," and the "Church of England profeſſed."

XVIII. Another concluſive argument, to the ſame effect, may be drawn from the learned Dr. William Fulke's confutation of the Rhemiſh Teſtament, publiſhed about the middle of this reign. The occaſion was as follows.

The Engliſh Papiſts in the ſeminary at Rheims, perceiving, as Fuller obſerves, that they could no longer "blindfold their laity from the Scriptures, reſolved to fit them with falſe ſpectacles; and ſet forth the Rhemiſh tranſlation (*b*)," in oppoſition to the Proteſtant verſions. No man fitter, in point either of learning, or of grace, to ſtand forth, in the name of the Church of England, than Dr. Fulke, Maſter of Pembroke Hall, and Margaret profeſſor of divinity, in Cambridge. He according-

(*f*) Ibid. p. 912, 913. (*g*) Ibid. p. 1009, 1010.
(*b*) See Fuller's account of Dr. Fulke, in the Engliſh Worthies; Lond. 219.

ly

ly undertook, and ſucceſsfully accompliſhed, an entire refutation of the Popiſh verſion and commentary. The late great and good Mr. Hervey (who, from an exuberance of candour, was, ſometimes, rather too ſanguine and indiſcriminate, in his public recommendation of books; witneſs the high ſtrains of undue panegyric, in which he condeſcended to celebrate Bengelius's Gnomon) paſſed a very juſt encomium on Dr. Fulke's noble performance: which he ſtiles, a "Valuable piece of ancient controverſy and criticiſm, full of ſound divinity, weighty arguments, and important obſervations." Adding: "Would the young ſtudent be taught to diſcover the very ſinews of Popery, and be enabled to give an effectual blow to that complication of errors; I ſcarce know a treatiſe, better calculated for the purpoſe (*i*)."

It was dedicated to the queen, and did honour to the royal patronage. Two or three brief extracts will ſuffice to ſhew, what is Popery, and what is Proteſtantiſm, in the eſtimation of the Church of England.

1. In their note on Matth. xxv. 20. the Romiſh-rhemiſh commentators expreſs themſelves thus: "Free-will, with God's grace, doth merit." No, ſays Fulke, in his anſwer: "The will, the work, and the fruit thereof, and the faith from whence it floweth, are, all, the gifts of God, and no merit of man (*k*)."

The Papiſts affirmed that Chriſt "worketh not our good, againſt our wills; but our wills concurring."——The Proteſtant Doctor replies, "Man hath no free-will to accept God's benefits, before God, of unwilling, by his only grace maketh him willing (*l*)."

(*i*) Theron and Aſpaſio, vol. ii. p. 436. Edit. 1767.
(*k*) Fulke's Confutation of Rhem. Teſt. p. 91.—Edit. Lond. 1617.
(*l*) Ibid. p. 166.

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The Catholics admitted, as ſome moderate Arminians do now, that man "was wounded very ſore in his underſtanding and free-will, and all other powers of ſoul and body, by the ſin of Adam: but that neither underſtanding, nor free-will, nor the reſt, were extinguiſhed in man, or taken away."—Fulke anſwers: "Againſt this vain collection by allegory, the Scripture is plain, that we are all dead in ſin, by the ſin of Adam. So that neither the will, nor the underſtanding, have any heavenly life in them (*m*)."

2. 'Tis amuſing, to obſerve, what a curious haſh (biſhop Latimer would have ſaid, mingle-mangle) the Catholic expoſitors toſſed up, of merit, and grace, free-will, and predeſtination, in their note on Rom. viii. 30. They obſerve, that "God's eternal foreſight, love, purpoſe," &c. are "the gulph," whereon "many proud perſons" have founded "moſt horrible blaſphemies againſt God's mercy, and divers damnable errors againſt man's free-will, and againſt all good life and religion;" but that "this ſaid eminent truth of God's eternal predeſtination, doth ſtand with man's free-will and the true liberty of his actions,——nor taketh away the means or nature of merits, and co-operation with God to our own and other men's ſalvation."—In oppoſition to which wretched jumble, our Church of England champion thus replies: "The eternal predeſtination of God excludeth the merits of man, and the power of his will, thereby to attain to eternal life: yet forceth not a man's will, to good or ill; but altereth the will, of him who is ordained to life, from evil to good (*n*)."

The aforeſaid Papiſts affirmed, that "God is not the cauſe of any man's reprobation or damnation."—On the contrary, Dr. Fulke inſiſted, that "God reprobateth, juſtly, whom he will; and condemneth the reprobate, juſtly, for ſin (*o*)."

(*m*) P. 195. (*n*) P. 462. (*o*) P. 464.

The

The Catholics would have it, that, toward the effecting of converſion and ſalvation, grace and free-will contribute, each, its quota: with this difference, however, that grace is the principal, and free-will the ſubordinate, contributor. "We may not," ſay they, "with heretics, infer, that man hath not free-will, or that our will worketh nothing, in our converſion, or coming to God. But this only: that our willing, or working, of any good, to our ſalvation, cometh of God's ſpecial motion, grace, and aſſiſtance; and that it [viz. free-will] is the ſecondary cauſe, not the principal."—Excellent, and full to the point, is Dr. Fulke's demolition of this artful, but inſufficient ſophiſm; which he demoliſhes thus: "Our election, calling, and firſt coming to God, lieth wholly in God's mercy; and not either wholly, or principally, or any thing at all, in our own will, or works. But whom God electeth before time, he calleth in time by him appointed; and, of unwilling, by his grace maketh them willing to come to him, and to walk in good works unto which he hath elected them. So that man hath no free-will, until it be freed (*p*)."

3. I ſhall only add a paſſage or two, from each ſide, concerning juſtification.

At, and ſoon after, the Reformation, the Papiſts, finding themſelves hard puſhed by the numerous Scriptures which aſſert juſtification without works, were driven to the falſe and abſurd reſource of there being more juſtifications than one. That great ornament of our reformed church, biſhop Downame, ſeems to have conſidered cardinal Bellarmine as the firſt broacher of theſe multiplied juſtifications (*q*). But, let them have been invented by whom they would, the Romiſh divines caught at the multiplication, with no little eagerneſs. The plurality of

(*p*) P. 465. (*q*) See Biſhop Downame on Juſtification, p. 452 & 532.—Edit. 1633.

juſtifica-

juſtifications ſoon paſſed as current, in that church, as Peter-pence; and like the hunted ſlipper, circulated, with all poſſible glibneſs, from hand to hand. —Among the reſt, thus ſpeak the Rhemiſh tranſlators: "Not faith alone, but good works alſo do juſtify. Therefore, St. Paul meaneth the ſame that St. James.——The firſt juſtification [is] without works: the ſecond, by works. St. Paul ſpeaketh of the firſt, ſpecially; St. James, of the ſecond." Agreeably to this ridiculous diſtinction, they affirm the firſt juſtification to take place, "when an infidel, or ill man, is made juſt, who had no acceptable works before to be juſtified by." Which man, it ſeems, muſt, ſome time afterwards, be juſtified over again: and this ſecond, or over-and-above juſtification, they define to be, "An increaſe of former juſtice, which he, who is in God's grace, daily proceedeth in, by doing all kind of good works; and for doing of which, he is juſt indeed before God." Obſerve, by the way, how wretchedly theſe two Popiſh juſtifications hang together. The firſt makes us juſt: the ſecond makes us juſt indeed. As if being juſt indeed was not included in being indeed juſt!—We have heard the Popiſh diſtinction, and the Popiſh explication of that diſtinction. Let me now adminiſter Dr. Fulke's Proteſtant antidote againſt the poiſon of both. "Your diſtinction of the firſt and ſecond juſtification before God, is but a new device, not threeſcore years old, [and] utterly unheard of among the ancient fathers. For whom God juſtifieth by faith without works, he alſo glorifieth; Rom. viii. 30. And that which you call the ſecond juſtification, or increaſe of juſtice, is but the effect and fruits of juſtification before God; and a declaration before men, that we are juſt. And ſo meaneth St. James: that Abraham, who was juſtified, or made juſt before God, through faith; was alſo juſtified, or declared to be juſt, before men, by works.—We affirm,

affirm, that God juſtifieth us, when he imputeth juſtice [i. e. righteouſneſs] to us, without works: by which imputation, we are not falſely accounted, but are indeed by God truly made juſt, by the righteouſneſs of Chriſt, which is given unto us, and which we apprehend by faith (*r*)."

XIX. I cannot help touching on another proof of that exquiſite, but not undue, jealouſy and care, with which the doctrinal Calviniſm of our church was watched and guarded in the reign now under conſideration.

So precious a palladium were the ſiſter-doctrines of free predeſtination and of juſtification by faith only, then deemed; that whoſoever lifted but a finger againſt either, was ſuppoſed to touch the apple of the Church of England's eye. Witneſs what Mr. Strype relates, concerning a poor handfull of free-will men, who could not aſſemble in a private conventicle, without attracting the rod of eccleſiaſtical cenſure, and ſuffering, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury's means, the rigorous penalty of impriſonment itſelf.

"There was a religious aſſembly now [A. D. 1586], taken notice of (whereof one Glover was a chief, and, as it ſeems, a miniſter), complained of, for their opinions, to the archbiſhop [Whitgift]: which Glover, with ſome others, was impriſoned. But whatſoever this ſociety was, they ſeemed ſo excuſable to the lord treaſurer Burleigh, that he wrote a letter to the archbiſhop in their favour. In which letter may be ſeen, what their tenets and doctrines were: namely, about the ſenſe of juſtification and predeſtination. Followers, perhaps, of Dr. Peter Baro and Corranus (*s*)."—In all probability, lord Burleigh's humane application to the primate, in behalf of theſe theological delinquents, procured them a gaol-delivery, and ſet the free-will men cor-

(*r*) Dr. Fulke, u.ſ. p. 441. (*s*) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 431.

porally free. So, at leaſt, I conjecture, from the letter of thanks, written, by the ſaid Glover, to the ſaid lord treaſurer: which letter whoſo liſteth to read, may find in Strype's volume and page before-mentioned. Thus much, however, I ſhall obſerve from it; that Mr. Glover, the free-will man, lays all the cauſe of his and his brethren's impriſonment, on their diſſenting from Luther's doctrine of juſtification without works, and from Calvin's doctrine of unconditional predeſtination; and loudly complains of the "Iniquity and tyranny" of their proſecutors: which included a tacit fling at the archbiſhop himſelf. And to ſay the truth, the biſhops, that then were, had juſt as much regard for the free-will men, as St. Paul had for the viper he ſhook into the fire.

XX. One proof more ſhall finiſh our review of queen Elizabeth's eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration. And that proof ſhall be drawn from the order that was iſſued, and which was as punctually obeyed, for the placing of good Mr. Fox's Calviniſtic Martyrology in all the pariſh churches of England, for the inſtruction and edification of the people at the intervals of divine ſervice. Hence it is, that, in ſome of our churches, we ſee thoſe ineſtimable volumes preſerved to this day. Nor, perhaps, could our preſent ſecular and eccleſiaſtical governors do a more ſubſtantial ſervice to the ſouls of the common people, than by renewing that well-judged command, and taking care to have every church re-furniſhed with thoſe venerable records of Proteſtant antiquity: which, with their ſuitable companion, the Book of Homilies, might be more conducive to the expulſion of the religious darkneſs that now overwhelms this land, than all the apoſtolic travels of a thouſand Lancaſhire miſſionaries.

"This hiſtory of the church [viz. Fox's Martyrology] was," ſays Strype, "of ſuch value and eſteem for the uſe of it to Chriſtian readers, and the

ſervice

ſervice of our religion reformed, that it was, in the days of queen Elizabeth, enjoined to be ſet up, in ſome convenient place, in all the pariſh churches, together with the Bible, and biſhop Jewel's Defence of the Apology of the Church of England: to be read, at all ſuitable times, by the people, before or after ſervice (*t*)."

Nor was this all. By the canons of the convocation, held, under archbiſhop Parker, in St. Paul's cathedral, A. D. 1571, it was enjoined, that each of the archbiſhops, and every biſhop ſhould procure the holy Bible of the largeſt edition, and Fox's Martyrology, and other ſimilar books, conducive to religion; and place the ſaid books, either in the hall of their reſpective dwelling-houſes, or in their principal dining-room: that ſo thoſe books might be ſerviceable both to ſuch company as might come to viſit the ſaid dignitaries, and likewiſe to their own ſervants and domeſtics (*u*).

Moreover, every dean was enjoined, by the canons aforeſaid, to ſee that each cathedral church, reſpectively, was furniſhed with the books abovementioned: which books were to be placed in ſuch an open and convenient part of each cathedral, that

(*t*) Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 503.

(*u*) Quivis archiepiſcopus, & epiſcopus, habebit Domi ſuæ Sacra Biblia, in ampliſſimo volumine, uti nuperrimè Londini excuſa ſunt; et plenam illam hiſtoriam, quæ inſcribitur, monumenta martyrum: et alios quoſdam libros ad religionem appoſitos. Locentur autem iſti libri, vel in aulâ, vel in grandi cœnaculo; ut, & ipſorum famulis, & advenis, uſui eſſe poſſint.

Eoſdem illos libros, quos proximè diximus, decanus quiſque curabit emi, & locari in eccleſiâ ſuâ cathedrali, ejuſmodi in loco, ut à vicariis, & minoribus canonicis, & miniſtris eccleſiæ, & ab advenis, & peregrinis, commodè audiri & legi poſſint.

Eoſdem libros illos decanus, & primarius quiſque reſidentiarius, quos appellant eccleſiæ dignitates, ement ſuo quiſque famulitio; eoſque, opportuno aliquo in loco, vel in aulâ, vel in cœnaculo, locabunt.

Quivis archidiaconus habebit, Domi ſuæ, & alios libros, & nominatim eos, qui inſcribuntur, monumenta martyrum.

See biſhop Sparrow's collections, p. 227, 228.—Edit. 1684.

they might be both heard and read by the prieſts, vicars, minor canons, and other miniſters, and alſo by ſuch ſtrangers and travellers, as might occaſionally reſort to the ſaid cathedrals. The word "heard" [*ut commodè audiri & legi poſſint*] ſeems to indicate, that Fox's Martyrology was publicly and audibly read by the clergy (in the nave, or ſome other capacious part of each cathedral church, at ſuch times as divine ſervice was not celebrating in the choir), to thoſe perſons who attended, out of church hours, for that purpoſe. It is much to be wiſhed, that the ſame laudable practice was ſtill continued.

To all this, I muſt add, that, by the ſame eccleſiaſtical injunctions, paſſed in full convocation, every dean, prebend, canon reſidentiary, and archdeacon, was to procure the ſaid predeſtinarian Martyrology, and place it in ſome conſpicuous and frequented room of his houſe, for the benefit of ſervants, viſitors, and all comers and goers. The ſame order, according to Anthony Wood (*x*), was extended to all the heads of colleges, in the two Univerſities; who were required, to place the Martyrology in their college halls reſpectively.

Let us next examine, whether Fox's Martyrology be indeed a Calviniſtic performance.

Proof has already been given, of the ample teſtimony, which that hiſtory bears, to the Calviniſm of thoſe excellent men, whoſe martyrdoms it records. Nor does it bear leſs teſtimony to the Calviniſm of the admirable hiſtorian himſelf. Witneſs what immediately follows.

"The ſecret purpoſe of Almighty God," ſays Mr. Fox, "diſpoſeth all things (*y*)." A golden ſentence, which, alone, might ſuffice to ſhew what complection his book is of. But the complection, both of him and it, will appear, ſtill more explicitly,

(*x*) Athen. i. 187. (*y*) Acts & Mon. iii. 761.

from

from an abſtract of what he delivers, in that part of his work which profeſſedly treats on election and reprobation.

"As touching the doctrine of election," ſays this moſt venerable maſter in our Proteſtant Iſrael, "Three things muſt be conſidered:

"1. What God's election is, and what is the cauſe thereof.

"2. How God's election proceedeth in working our ſalvation.

"3. To whom God's election pertaineth, and how a man may be certain thereof.

"Between predeſtination and election, this difference there is: predeſtination is as well [i. e. relates as much] to the reprobate, as to the elect: election pertaineth only to them that be ſaved.

"Predeſtination is the eternal decreement of God, purpoſed before in himſelf, what ſhall befal on all men, either to ſalvation, or damnation.

"Election is the free mercy and grace of God, in his own will, through faith in Chriſt, his Son, chuſing and preferring to life ſuch as pleaſeth him.

"In this definition of election, firſt goeth before the mercy and grace of God, as the cauſes thereof; whereby are excluded all works of the law, and merits of deſerving, whether they go before faith, or come after. So was Jacob choſen, and Eſau refuſed, before either of them began to work. In that this mercy and grace of God, in this definition, is ſaid to be free; thereby is to be noted the proceeding and working of God not to be bounded to any ordinary place, ſucceſſion of chair, ſtate or dignity of perſon, worthineſs of blood, &c. but all goeth by the mere will of his own purpoſe.——It is added, in his own will. By this falleth down the free-will and purpoſe of man, with all his actions, counſel, and ſtrength of nature: according as it is written, It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth; but of God that ſheweth mercy. So we ſee, how

Iſrael ran along, and yet got nothing. The Gentiles later began to ſet out, and yet got the game. So they, who came at the firſt hour, did labour more; and yet they, who came laſt, were rewarded with the firſt. The working will of the Phariſee ſeemed better; but yet the Lord's will was rather to juſtify the Publican. The elder ſon [in the parable] had a better will to tarry by his father, and ſo did indeed; and yet the fat calf was given to the younger ſon that ran away.

"Whereby we are to underſtand, how the matter goeth, not by the will of man; but by the will of God, as it pleaſeth him to accept; according as it is written, Who were born, not of the will of the fleſh, nor by the will of man, but of God.

"God's mercy and free grace bringeth forth election. Election worketh vocation, or God's holy calling. Which vocation, through hearing, bringeth knowledge and faith of Chriſt. Faith, through promiſe, obtaineth juſtification. Juſtification, through hope, waiteth for glorification.

"Election is before time. Vocation and faith come in time. Juſtification and glorification are without end.

"Election, depending on God's free grace and will, excludeth all man's will, blind fortune, chance, and all peradventures.

"Vocation, ſtanding upon God's election, excludeth all man's wiſdom, cunning, learning, intention, power, and preſumption.

"Faith in Chriſt, proceeding by the gift of the Holy Ghoſt, and freely juſtifying man by God's promiſe, excludeth all other merits of men, all condition of deſerving, and all works of the law, both God's law and man's law, with all other outward means whatſoever.

"This order and connection of cauſes is diligently to be obſerved, becauſe of the Papiſts, who have miſerably confounded and inverted this doctrine; teaching,

teaching, that Almighty God, ſo far forth as he foreſeeth man's merits before to come, ſo doeth he diſpenſe his election. As though we had our election, by our holineſs that followeth after; and not, rather, have our holineſs, by God's election going before!

"If the queſtion be aſked, why was Abraham choſen, and not Nachor? why was Jacob choſen, and not Eſau? why was Moſes elected, and Pharaoh hardened? why David accepted, and Saul refuſed? why few be choſen, and the moſt forſaken? It cannot be anſwered otherwiſe but thus—becauſe it was ſo the good will of God.

"In like manner, touching vocation, and alſo faith. If it be aſked, why this vocation and gift of faith was given to Cornelius the Gentile, and not to Tertullus the Jew? why the beggars, by the highways, were called, and the bidden gueſts excluded? we can go to no other cauſe, but to God's purpoſe and election; and ſay, with Chriſt our Saviour, Even ſo, Father, for ſo it ſeemed good in thy ſight.

"And ſo for juſtification likewiſe. If the queſtion be aſked, why the Publican was juſtified, and not the Phariſee? why Mary the ſinner, and not Simon the inviter? why harlots and publicans go before the Scribes and Phariſees in the kingdom? why the ſon of the free woman was received, and the bond woman's ſon, being his elder, was rejected? why Iſrael, which ſo long ſought for righteouſneſs, found it not; and the Gentiles, which ſought not for it, found it? We have no other cauſe hereof to render, but to ſay, with St. Paul, Becauſe they ſought for it by works of the law, and not by faith: which faith cometh not by man's will (as the Papiſt falſely pretendeth), but only by the election and free gift of God.

"Whereſoever election goeth before, there faith in Chriſt muſt needs follow after. And again, whoſoever believeth in Chriſt Jeſus, through the vocation of God, he muſt needs be partaker of God's election.

" Whereupon reſulteth now the third note, or conſideration: which is, to conſider, whether a man, in this life, may be certain of his election?

" Although our election and vocation ſimply indeed be known to God only in himſelf, *à priore*; yet, notwithſtanding, it may be known to every particular faithful man, *à poſteriore*; that is, by means: which means, is faith in Chriſt Jeſus crucified. And therefore it is truly ſaid, *De electione judicandum eſt à poſteriore:* that is to ſay, we muſt judge of election by that which cometh after: i. e. by our faith and belief in Chriſt, which certifieth us of this election of God. For albeit that election be firſt certain in the knowledge of God; yet, in our knowledge, faith only, that we have in Chriſt, is the thing that giveth to us our certificate and comfort of this election. Election [is] firſt known to God, and laſt opened to man (*z*)."

So ſpeaks the book, with which the archbiſhops, biſhops, archdeacons, prebendaries, and canons reſidentiary, were enjoined to enrich their principal apartments: which all deans were commanded to place in their Cathedrals: which all heads of colleges were required to exhibit in the public halls of each Univerſity: and which conſtituted part of the religious furniture of every pariſh church, throughout the kingdom.

Well, therefore, might biſhop Davenant affirm, that Laud's paraſite, Samuel Hoord the Arminian, " ſo farre forth as he ſeemeth to oppoſe the abſolute decree of predeſtination, and the abſolute decree of negative reprobation, or non-election; reducing them to the contrary foreſeen conditions of good or bad acts in men; he croſſeth the received doctrine of the Church of England (*a*). I will," adds the biſhop, " lay down ſuch fundamental doctrines,

(*z*) Fox's Acts & Mon. iii. 292, 293. (*a*) Biſhop Davenant's Animadverſions on Hoord, p. 5.——Cambridge, 1641.

concerning

concerning predeſtination or election, as I conceive are grounded upon the XVIIth Article, and have always been taken for the common received doctrine of our Church: the contradictory [doctrines, viz. the doctrines of Pelagius and Arminius] having been always, when they were broached, held and cenſured for erroneous by our Univerſities and reverend biſhops (*b*). As for thoſe, whom you [viz. you Samuel Hoord] term Sublapſarians, you ſhould have taken notice, that in this number you muſt put all who embrace St. Auguſtine's doctrines, and who have ſubſcribed to the XVIIth Article of our Church.—So that, by joining yourſelf with the remonſtrants [i. e. with the Arminians], you have as clearly forſaken the doctrine of the Church of England, as [you have forſaken the doctrine] of Beza, Zanchius, or Piſcator (*c*). Our Church of England was more willing and deſirous to ſet down expreſsly the doctrine of abſolute predeſtination, I mean of predeſtination cauſing faith and perſeverance, than it was of [ſetting down ſo expreſsly] abſolute negative reprobation.——It was wiſdom, which made our Church ſo clear in the article for abſolute predeſtination, and yet ſo reſerved in the other [viz. in the point of reprobation]: eaſily perceiving, that [the] predeſtination of ſome men [to eternal life] cannot be affirmed, but non-predeſtination [to life], or preterition, or negative reprobation, (call it as you pleaſe) of ſome others, muſt needs therewith be underſtood.—For the truth of abſolute reprobation, ſo farre forth as it is connected and conjoined with abſolute predeſtination; when the main intent of the remonſtrants is, by oppoſing the former, to over-throw the latter, it importeth thoſe, who have ſubſcribed to the 17th article, not to ſuffer it to be obliquely undermined (*d*)." The learned prelate's reaſoning is maſterly and

(*b*) Ibid. p. 7, 8. (*c*) Ibid. p. 28, 29. (*d*) Ibid. p. 55, 56.

juſt

juſt. For, 1. The predeſtination of ſome to life, aſſerted in the 17th article of our Church, cannot be maintained, without admitting the reprobation of ſome others unto death. 2. This reprobation, though not expreſsly aſſerted in the article, is palpably deducible from it: yea, ſo neceſſary is the inference, that, without it, the article itſelf cannot ſtand.—Conſequently, 3. Whoever oppoſes reprobation "obliquely undermines" the 17th article. And, 4. All, "who have ſubſcribed" to the ſaid article, are bound in honour, conſcience, and law, to defend reprobation, were it only to keep the 17th article upon its legs—So argues biſhop Davenant.

From the proofs, which this Section hath alledged, of the Calviniſm of our eſtabliſhed Church, through the entire reign of queen Elizabeth; it follows (no leſs clearly than reprobation follows from our 17th article) that the eſtabliſhed religion of this land was, originally; remained, ſucceſſively; and ſtill continues to be, intrinſically; as remote from, and as eſſentially the reverſe of, Pelagianiſm and Arminianiſm, in every point and reſpect whatſoever, as any two things, within the whole compaſs of exiſtence, can be remote and different from each other.

A conviction of this moſt plain and certain truth made Dr. Carleton, biſhop of Chicheſter, expreſs himſelf in theſe poſitive, but not too poſitive, terms: "I am well aſſured, that the learned biſhops, who were in the reformation of our Church in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, did ſo much honour St. Auguſtine, that, in the collecting of the Articles and Homilies, and other things in that reformation, they had an eſpecial reſpect unto St. Auguſtine's doctrines (*e*)."

This I much ſuſpect to be the chief cauſe of Mr. Weſley's unappeaſeable wrath againſt the memory

(*e*) Carleton's Examin. of Montagu, p. 49.

of

of old queen Beſs: though his oſtenſible reaſon is, the behaviour of that princeſs to her female neighbour of Scotland. It is curious to obſerve the tiffing vehemence, wherewith the petty dragon ſpits his harmleſs fire at the dead lioneſs. "What then was queen Elizabeth? As juſt and merciful as Nero, and as good a Chriſtian as Mahomet (*f*)."

Let the following authentic account of the truly pious manner, in which that great monarch cloſed her life, determine what degree of credit is due to the ſpitting journalizer; and ſhew, whether ſhe was a Mahometan or a Chriſtian.

"She [queen Elizabeth] had ſeveral of her learned and pious biſhops frequently about her, performing the laſt offices of religion with her. Particularly, Watſon, biſhop of Chicheſter, her almoner; the biſhop of London; and, chiefly, the archbiſhop [Whitgift]: with whom, in their prayers, ſhe very devoutly, both in her eyes, hands, and tongue, and with great fervency, joined;——making ſigns and ſhews, to her laſt remembrance, of the ſweet comfort ſhe took in their preſence and aſſiſtance, and of the unſpeakable joy ſhe was going unto.

"Her death drawing near, the archbiſhop exhorted her to fix her thoughts on God; the better to draw off her mind from other ſecular things, concerning her kingdom and ſucceſſor, which ſome of her court then propounded to her. To which good advice, ſhe anſwered him, ſhe did ſo; nor did her mind wander from God. And as a ſign thereof, when ſhe could not ſpeak, ſhe was obſerved much to lift up her eyes and hands to Heaven.

"Her Almoner rehearſing to her the grounds of the Chriſtian faith, and requiring her aſſent unto them by ſome ſign; ſhe readily gave it, both with hand and eye. And, when he proceeded to tell her, that it was not enough, generally to believe

(*f*) Weſley's Journal from 1765 to 1768, p. 124.

that.

that thoſe articles of faith were true; but that all Chriſtian men were to believe them true to them, and that they themſelves were members of the true Church, and redeemed by Jeſus Chriſt, and that their ſins were forgiven to them; ſhe did, again, with great ſhew of faith, lift up her eyes and hands to Heaven, and ſo ſtayed them long, as a teſtimony ſhe gave of applying the ſame unto herſelf (*g*)."

"This queen, ſays lord Bacon, as touching her religion, was pious, moderate, conſtant, and an enemy to novelty. For her piety, though the ſame were moſt conſpicuous in her acts, and the form of her government; yet it was pourtrayed alſo in the common courſe of her life, and her daily comportment. Seldom would ſhe be abſent from hearing divine ſervice, and other duties of religion, either in her chapel, or in her privy cloſet. In the reading of the Scriptures, and the writings of the fathers, eſpecially of St. Auguſtine, ſhe was very frequent: and ſhe compoſed certain prayers, herſelf, upon emergent occaſions. Within the compaſs of one year, ſhe did ſo eſtabliſh and ſettle all matters belonging to the Church, as ſhe departed not one hair's breadth from them to the end of her life. Nay, and her uſual cuſtom was, in the beginning of every parliament, to forewarn the houſes not to queſtion or innovate any thing already eſtabliſhed in the diſcipline or rites of the Church.

"Her (*b*) ſtature [ſay Guthrie, Welwood, and Bacon] was ſomewhat tall, and her complexion fair. She underſtood the Greek, Latin, Italian, Spaniſh, French, and Dutch languages. She tranſlated ſeveral pieces from Xenophon, Iſocrates, Seneca, Boethius, and other antients, with taſte and accuracy. The Auguſtan age was revived in her

(*g*) Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 558, 559.

(*b*) She was five feet and eleven inches in height, two inches taller than Auguſtus the Roman emperor.

Derham's Phyſ. Theol. p. 331.

reign;

reign: and the true religion was ſo well eſtabliſhed before ſhe left the world, that her reign ought juſtly to be termed the golden age of the Church of England (*i*)."

SECTION XIX.

State of the Calviniſtic *Doctrines in* England, *from the Death of* Elizabeth, *to that of King* James *the Firſt.*

JAMES the Firſt's acceſſion to the crown of England was, for many years, followed by no ſhadow of alteration in the theological principles of our ruling eccleſiaſtics. The king himſelf was a Calviniſt in theory: but more, by virtue of outward and viſible education, than of inward and ſpiritual grace. His own perſonal morals did by no means comport with the rectitude of his ſpeculative ſyſtem. England had ſeen few princes more warmly orthodox; and not very many, whoſe private manners were ſo thoroughly profligate and excentric. A proof, that the pureſt ſet of religious tenets, when they float merely on the ſurface of the underſtanding, and are no otherwiſe received, than ſcholaſtically, as a ſcience, without reaching the heart; are ſure to leave the life and manners uncultivated and unrenewed. The regenerating influence of God's holy ſpirit on the ſoul, is the beſt door for the doctrines of grace to enter at. When they flow to us through the channel of celeſtial experience, they cannot fail to throw our hearts, our tempers, and our morals, into the mould of holineſs.

(*i*) Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, p. 202.

There

There are two ſorts of perſons, whoſe condition is eminently dangerous: thoſe, who know juſt enough of the goſpel ſyſtem, to hate it; and thoſe, who profeſs to love it, but hold it in unrighteouſneſs.

King James, amidſt all his deviations from virtue; amidſt all his mental weakneſſes, and political abſurdities; was the moſt learned ſecular prince then in Europe. His talents, as a ſcholar, were far from being ſo extremely deſpicable and ſuperficial, as his defect of wiſdom and his exceſs of ſelf-opinion have led ſome hiſtorians to ſuppoſe. Had his judgment and his virtues borne any proportion to his acquirements, his name would have adorned, inſtead of diſhonouring, as it does, the catalogue of kings. His two ſons, prince Henry, and Charles the firſt, though they had not half the literary attainments of their father, yet eclipſed him totally, even as a man of parts, by force of ſuperior genius, and by poſſeſſing a larger ſtock of private virtue. Vice (eſpecially thoſe ſpecies of it, to which James was enſlaved) has a native tendency to debaſe, enfeeble, and diminiſh, the powers of the mind. To which muſt be added, that the erudition, as well as the whole perſonal and civil conduct, of this mean prince, appeared to peculiar diſadvantage, after the wiſe, the ſhining, the vigorous adminiſtration of Elizabeth: who was immenſely his ſuperior, both in elegant learning, and in the art of government.

That James was a ſpeculative Calviniſt, his own writings abundantly declare. Mr. Hume gives a ſort of ambiguous intimation (*k*), that, toward the end of his reign, he adopted the principles of Arminius. I wiſh that polite, but not always impartial hiſtorian, had favoured us with the authorities (if any ſuch there be) on which that implication was grounded. I ſhould be extremely glad, to ſee it proved, that James actually did apoſtatize,

(*k*) Hiſt. of Eng. vol. v. p. 572.

in his latter years, to the Arminian tenets. For he really was no honour to us. King as he was, the meaneſt Calviniſt in his dominions might have bluſhed to call him brother. It were pity, that a man of ſo corrupt a heart ſhould live and die with a ſet of ſound opinions in his head.

But I have never been able to find, that there is the ſmalleſt ſhadow of foundation, for ſuppoſing, that he ever dropped, what Mr. Hume pleaſes to term, "The more rigid principles of abſolute reprobation and unconditional decrees." On the contrary, his religious tenets, and his principles of political tyranny, ſeem, like fleſh and ſpirit, to have been in perpetual conflict with each other, during the laſt years of his life.—Let me explain myſelf. The point is curious: and not altogether unintereſting.

James was wicked enough, to hunger and thirſt after the liberties of his people. But, with all his boaſted king-craft (as he called it), he was, providentially, deſtitute both of wiſdom and ſpirit, to carry his wiſh into execution. Much of his reign was waſted, in contemptibly ſtriving to balance matters between the Proteſtants and the Papiſts; the the latter of whom he affected to keep fair with, on account of their being, as he phraſed it, "dextrous king-killers." Juſt as ſome Indians are ſaid to worſhip the Devil, for fear he ſhould do them a miſchief.

For ſometime before his death, James's wretched politics took a turn, ſomewhat different. His royal care was to trim between the Calviniſts and the Arminians (tho' the latter, at that time, hardly amounted to an handful): or, rather, to play them off againſt each other, while he buckled himſelf the faſter into the ſaddle of deſpotiſm.

The Calviniſts, tho', even in his own judgement, religiouſly orthodox; were conſidered by him as ſtate heretics, becauſe they were friends to the rights

of mankind, and repreſſed the encroachments of civil tyranny.

On the other hand, the Arminians (then newly ſprung up; or, rather, newly imported from the Dutch coaſt) were deteſted by James, for the novelty, and for the ſuppoſed ill tendency, of their religious ſentiments. The Arminians had, therefore, but one card to play, in order to ſave a loſing game: which was to compenſate for their religious heterodoxies, by ſtate orthodoxy. They were forced, even to avoid the inconveniencies of perſecution itſelf (for James had given proof, that he could burn heretics as well as any of his predeceſſors), to fall in with the court-meaſures for extending the prerogative.

This card the Arminians accordingly played. It won: and gave a new turn to the game. It not only ſaved them from civil penalties, but (of which, probably, at firſt, they were not ſo ſanguine as to entertain the moſt diſtant expectation) they even began to be regarded, at court, as ſerviceable folks.

Hence, from being exclaimed againſt, as the very peſts of Chriſtian ſociety; they gradually obtained connivance, toleration and countenance.—To ſum up all: they got ground, in the cloſe of James's reign; and, in that of Charles, ſaw themſelves, for the firſt time, at the top of the eccleſiaſtical wheel.

Every one, who is at all acquainted with the hiſtory of James's adminiſtration, knows, that I have not over-charged a ſingle feature. For the ſake, however, of ſuch readers, as may not be verſed in this kind of enquiries, I confirm the account, already given, by the following extract from Tindal.

"Soon after the acceſſion of king James, the canons of the church were confirmed by the king and convocation.———Things were in this ſtate, when a great turn happened in the doctrine of the church. The Arminian, or remonſtrant tenets, which had been condemned by the ſynod at Dort, began

began to ſpread in England (*l*).—The Calviniſtical ſenſe of the [39] articles was diſcouraged; and injunctions were publiſhed againſt preaching upon predeſtination, election, efficacy of grace, &c. while the Arminians were ſuffered to inculcate their doctrines (*m*)" without controul.

So much for the conduct of James and his court. Now, for the reaſon of that conduct. This the above hiſtorian immediately aſſigns, in manner and form following.

" As Arminianiſm was firſt embraced by thoſe who were for exalting the [king's] prerogative above law; all, who adhered to the ſide of [civil] liberty, and to the Calviniſtical ſenſe of the articles, tho' ever ſo good churchmen, were branded by the court with the name of Puritans.——By this means, the [real] Puritans acquired great ſtrength: for, the bulk of the people and clergy were at once confounded with them (*n*)," under the abſurd, new invented names of doctrinal and ſtate-puritans.

What if, to the teſtimony of this whig hiſtorian, we add that of a tory compiler?—" The whole nation was now" [viz. A. D. 1622.] " divided between the court and the country parties. All the Papiſts, and the Arminians (who were by this time formed into a ſect in England), eſpouſed the cauſe of the king.——Thoſe who profeſſed the tenets of Arminius, were now as much careſſed, as they had

(*l*) Obſerve: the " Arminian tenets" did not " begin" to " ſpread in England," till after the ſaid tenets had been condemned " by the ſynod at Dort." Which condemnation by that ſynod took place, A. D. 1619; about ſixteen years after James's acceſſion to the Engliſh crown, and little more than five years before his majeſty's death. Of ſuch very modern ſtanding, in England, is that Arminianiſm, which, coming to its full growth under Charles the Firſt,

Per populos graiûm, mediæque per elidis urbem,
Ibat ovans, divumque ſibi poſcebat honores!

(*m*) Tindal's Cont. of Rapin, vol. iii. p. 279, 280. Octavo.
(*n*) Tindal, Ibid. 280.

been formerly deteſted, by the courtiers. And William Laud, who had adopted this faith, was promoted to the biſhopric of St. David's (*o*)."

It is plain, then, that the reaſon, why James I. was "inſenſibly engaged, towards the end of his reign, to favour" [for it does not appear that he ever adopted] "the milder theology of Arminius (*p*)," was, becauſe the partizans of that new theology were much "milder" and more friendly to James's ſcheme of ſetting himſelf above law, than were the partizans of the eſtabliſhed Calviniſtic doctrines. The moving cauſe, why that weak and vicious prince laboured to ram Arminianiſm down the throats of his Proteſtant ſubjects, was, the innate fitneſs of Arminianiſm to ſubſerve and promote the purpoſes of arbitrary power. At the very time that James manifeſtly appears to have abhorred the religious tenets of Arminius, conſidered as religious, he profeſſedly patronized the maintainers of thoſe identical tenets, becauſe he regarded both the tenets and their maintainers as the beſt ſtate-engines he could employ, to effectuate that plan of ſecular tyranny, on which he had ſo vehemently ſet his heart.

To what an unprincely and uncomfortable dilemma had James reduced himſelf! He could not perſiſt in carrying on his old theological war againſt Arminianiſm, without weakening the foundations of the tyrannical fabric he intended to rear. Nor could he proclaim peace, without rendering himſelf, to the laſt degree, contemptible, for his inconſiſtencies.—On one hand, conſcience, religious conviction, and a regard to his own character, united to diſſuade him from taking the Arminians into his alliance: and haunted him with, O my ſoul, go not thou into their ſecret; unto their aſſembly, mine honour, be not thou united.—On the other hand, his "king-

(*o*) Smollett's Hiſt. vol. vii. p. 80. Octavo. 1759.
(*p*) Hume, vol. v. p. 572.

craft,"

craft," i. e. the ſhallow cunning of a mean and vicious policy, ſuggeſted to him, in behalf of the Arminian ſect he ſo deeply hated, If ye be come peaceably unto me, to help me, my heart ſhall be knit unto you.

To help him, they accordingly tried. And knit to them, as a ſtate party, he certainly was, for the laſt four years of his life. Should it be aſked, 'What could render the friendſhip of the Arminians ſo important in James's idea, ſeeing their number was then ſo very few?' The anſwer is obvious. The new and few Arminians were joined by the whole body of Roman catholics: and it was this junction of forces which augmented their weight. Each of theſe two obnoxious parties, lying open to the laſh of the law, wiſhed to recommend themſelves to the favour of the court. Effectually to do ſo, they adopted and propagated the then court-maxim of unlimited obedience to princes, with all poſſible fervour. A coalition of intereſts naturally produces a coalition of parties. It was no wonder, therefore, as the Papiſts and the Arminians had one and the ſame end to promote, and promoted that end by the ſelf-ſame means, that they ſhould, as a ſtate faction, ſwim hand in hand with each other. Nor was the aſſociation, conſidered even in a religious view, at all unnatural. Arminianiſm pulls up, and removes, five, at the very leaſt, of thoſe ancient land-marks (might I not ſay, five and twenty?) by which Proteſtantiſm and Popery are ſevered from each other. Such a theological and political coincidence might well produce (as it actually did) a civil union between the partizans of Rome and the diſciples of Arminius. They both aſpired, in amicable conjunction, to the favour of James: and James caught at their alliance, with as great eagerneſs, as they aſpired to his.

But the acceſſion of ſuch recruits, as theſe, reflected no honour on the king; and, in reality, did

him no ſervice. It added to the national jealouſy, and quickened the national reſentment. In all appearance, James died juſt at the time when matters were ripening to a criſis between him and his people. Had his reign been protracted much longer, 'tis probable, either that his crown would have trembled on his brow; or, that its ſecurity muſt have been purchaſed by a number of juſt and neceſſary conceſſions to a brave and injured nation.

With what propriety and decency this prince affected to cheriſh Arminianiſm, let the productions of his own pen teſtify. But, before I briefly appeal to theſe, let James's beſt hiſtoriographer, the honeſt Mr. Arthur Wilſon, ſupply us with an introduction to them.

"Our neighbours of the Netherlands had" [in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century] "a fire kindled in their own boſoms: [namely,] a ſchiſm in the church, and a faction in the ſtate. The firſt author of the ſchiſm, was (*q*) Arminius: who had been divinity-profeſſor at Leyden. He died in the year 1609; leaving behind him the ſeeds of the Pelagian hereſy.

"This rupture in the bowels of the church [of Holland] grew ſo great, that it endangered the body of the ſtate. The chief rulers and magiſtrates, in the ſeveral provinces, being tainted with this error, ſtrove to eſtabliſh it by power: among whom, Barnevelt was a principal agent. He, by the aſſiſtance of Hoogenberts of Leyden, Grotius of Rotterdam, and Leidenburgh, ſecretary of Utrecht, with others their adherents, drew on the deſign: which was to ſuppreſs the Proteſtant reformed religion, and eſtabliſh the tenets of Arminius; being fomented by the kings of France and Spain, as the immediate way to introduce Popery. This went on

(*q*) For ſome account of this Arminius, ſee a Pamphlet of mine, entitled, More Work for Mr. John Weſley.

ſo

ſo ſmoothly, that the orthodox miniſters were expelled out of their principal towns, and none but Arminians admitted to preach to the people: which, in ſome places, bred many combuſtions, that tended to nothing but popular confuſion.

"But long before this time, our king (James I.) ſaw the ſtorm coming upon them [viz. that was coming on the Dutch provinces]. For in the year 1611, he forewarns the States: telling them, that, by the unhappy ſucceſſion of two ſuch prodigies in one ſphere, as Arminius and Vorſtius, ſome dreadful miſchief would ſucceed.

"For, Arminius was no ſooner dead, but thoſe that drew on the deſign had an eye on Vorſtius, his [i. e. Arminius's] diſciple, to make him divinity profeſſor in his place. Which the king hearing of, and having read ſome of Vorſtius's blaſphemous writings, ſends to his then ambaſſador, ſir Ralph Winwood, reſident there, to let the State know, that Vorſtius rather deſerved puniſhment, than promotion: that the head of ſuch a viper ſhould be trod upon and cruſhed, which was likely to eat his way through the bowels of the State: and if, nevertheleſs, they ſhould perſiſt to prefer him, he (viz. king James himſelf) would make known to the world, publicly in print, how much he deteſted ſuch abominable hereſies, and all allowers and tolerators of them (*r*)."

The States, however, inveſted Vorſtius with the profeſſorſhip, lately vacated by the death of Arminius. This greatly incenſed king James. It, at once, ſtung his pride, and gravelled his orthodoxy. True enough it was, that he had no right to dictate to the Dutch magiſtrates, on whom they ſhould beſtow their own preferments. "For what is it to his majeſty," ſaid his ambaſſador Winwood,

(*r*) Wilſon's Life and Reign of King James I. inſerted into biſhop Kennet's Complete Hiſt. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 714, 715.

in a remonſtrance preſented to the States by the king's directions, "What is it to his majeſty, whether Dr. Vorſtius be admitted profeſſor in the Univerſity of Leyden or not? Or, whether the doctrine of Arminius be preached in your churches? Saving that, as a Chriſtian prince, he deſires the advancement of the goſpel. Let yourſelves be judges, in how great a danger the State muſt needs be at this preſent, ſo long as you permit the ſchiſms of Arminius to have ſuch vogue, as now they have, in the principal towns of Holland.——The diſciples of Socinus, with whoſe doctrine Vorſtius had been ſuckled in his childhood, do ſeek him for their maſter, and are ready to embrace him. Let him go: he is a bird of their own feather: *Et dignum ſane patellâ operculum*, a fit cover for ſuch a diſh. His majeſty doth exhort you, that you would not ſuffer the followers of Arminius to make your actions an example for them to proclaim throughout the world that wicked doctrine of the apoſtacy of the ſaints (*s*)." Thus did James cover his own bigotry and haughtineſs, with the plauſible mantle of zeal for the glory of God and the good of Holland.

Mean while, his majeſty was not idle at home. By his expreſs command, Vorſtius's writings were publicly burnt at St. Paul's (*t*) Croſs in London, and in the two Univerſities

(*s*) Complete Hiſt. n. f. p. 715, 716. (*t*) Paul's Croſs, of which ſo frequent mention is made in the religious hiſtory of this kingdom, was ſituated in the church-yard belonging to the Cathedral of St. Paul, on the north ſide of that church, towards the eaſt end, where a tree now ſtands. (See Dugdale's Hiſt. of St. Paul's, p. 130. And the octavo edition of Latimer's ſermons, vol. i. p. 39.)

It ſeems to have been ſtanding till the great fire in 1666; and was of very high, but unknown, antiquity. Stowe, in his Survey of London, calls it, "A pulpit-croſs of timber, mounted upon ſteps of ſtone, and covered with lead; in which are ſermons preached by learned divines, every Sunday in the fore-noon." Stowe died in 1605. So that it appears, by his teſtimony, that preaching at this famous croſs, in the open air, was continued after the acceſſion of James I.

It

Univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge. One reaſon, aſſigned by James himſelf for a ſtep ſo very humiliating

It was uſual to deliver ſermons, and other public annunciations, at Paul's Croſs, for ſome ages before the Reformation. In 1259, king Henry III. ordered a general muſter of the Londoners, to be made at the Croſs; all of whom, from twelve years of age, incluſive, there took the oaths of fidelity to that prince and his ſucceſſors, in preſence of the lord mayor and aldermen.

At the ſame Croſs, in 1262, was publicly read pope Urban the fourth's bull, abſolving Henry from the oath he had taken, relative to the Oxford barons.

In 1299, about the 27th of Edward I. the dean of London ſolemnly curſed, at Paul's Croſs, ſome perſons who, in expectation of finding a rich booty, had ſearched the church of St. Martin in the Fields. (See Stowe, u. ſ.)

Michael de Northburg, or Northbrooke, biſhop of London, who died in 1361, bequeathed a ſtanding fund of a thouſand marks, to his church, for the accommodation of ſuch as might be in want of ſmall ſums; payable again in one year, and for which an equivalent pledge was to be depoſited by the borrower. It was an article in this biſhop's laſt will, that "If, at the year's end, payment were not made of any ſum ſo borrowed, the preacher at Paul's Croſs ſhould, in his ſermon, declare, that the pledge would be ſold within fourteen days, if not retrieved before."

In the eleventh of Richard II. i. e. about the year 1388, Robert de Braybroke, biſhop of London, iſſued letters to the clergy of his dioceſe, deſiring them to ſolicit the contributions of the people for the repair of Paul's Croſs, which had been much ſhattered by ſtorms. He ſtyled it, *Crux alta, in majori cœmeterio ecclefiæ noſtræ cathedralis, ubi verbum Dei conſuevit populo prædicari, tanquam loco magis publico et inſigni:* "The high croſs ſtanding in the larger burying-ground belonging to the Cathedral, where the word of God had been uſually preached to the people, as a place eminently public and renowned." (See Dugdale, u. ſ. 3.)

In proceſs of time, the old Croſs being much dilapidated by years and weather, a new one was erected, on the ſame ſpot, by Thomas Kempe, biſhop of London, who died in 1489. *Crucem Paulinam,* (ſays biſhop Godwin) *quâ nunc formâ cernitur, conſtruxit:* Kempe built up Paul's Croſs in the ſame manner as it ſtill appears;" i. e. as it then appeared, in 1616. (De Præſ. Ang. p. 189)

I cannot find, that this ſtructure, while it remained, underwent any farther alterations, from that time. But, when God was pleaſed to viſit this land with the beams of the Reformation, Paul's Croſs was put to a nobler uſe than ever. It might be called the city-fountain, from which the ſtreams of pureſt doctrine repleniſhed the metropolis, and the kingdom. Here, our great reformers preached, in the days of Edward the good: and, here, the great reſtorers of the reformed

humiliating to the new Arminian party, was what his majeſty ſtiles, the "impudence" of Bertius; who was another chip of the ſaid Arminian block, Vorſtius's intimate friend, and who, together with Vorſtius, had been Arminius's pupil.

Does the reader aſk, 'Wherein the "impudence" of Bertius conſiſted?' King James ſhall anſwer the queſtion. Bertius had written againſt the final perſeverance of the elect; and, not content with barely that, was, ſays his majeſty, "ſo impudent, and ſo ſhameleſs, as to maintain, that the doctrine, contained in his book, was agreeable with the doctrine of the Church of England! Let the Church of Chriſt then judge, whether it was not high time for us to beſtir ourſelves."

doctrines continued to diſpenſe the waters of life, through the long reign of Elizabeth.——There are three diſtinguiſhed (I had almoſt ſaid ſacred) ſpots of ground, which, I think, no genuine, conſiderate Engliſhman can ſurvey, without ſome emotion of awful rapture. I mean, that part of St. Paul's church-yard, which was beautified by the feet of the reformers;—Smithfield, from whence ſo many of our Proteſtant Elijahs aſcended, in chariots of flame, to glory;—and Runne-mead, adjoining to Egham, where the ſignature of the great charter was extorted from king John.

The area of Paul's Croſs was, formerly, more ſpacious, than that on which the tree at preſent ſtands. It commanded an extent of vacant ground, large enough to admit, with convenience, ſome thouſands of auditors. For, biſhop Jewel, in a letter to Peter Martyr, written about the year 1560, informed his learned friend, that nothing contributed more to the viſible increaſe of Proteſtantiſm, than the inviting the people to ſing pſalms: that this was begun in one church in London, and did quickly ſpread itſelf, not only through the city, but in the neighbouring places; and that, ſometimes, at Paul's Croſs, there would be ſix thouſand people ſinging together. This (added biſhop Jewel) was very grievous to the Papiſts.——It was ſaid, White [the Popiſh biſhop of Wincheſter] died of rage. (See Burnet's Hiſt. of Ref. vol. iii. p. 290.)

At this famous Croſs it was, that the books of Vorſtius, the diſciple and ſucceſſor of Arminius, were publicly burned, in the year 1611, by the expreſs order of king James I. And it was almoſt the only act of his whole reign, that reflects honour on his memory.—For, could a juſter ſacrifice, than Vorſtius's Arminian writings, be conſumed at the Proteſtant ſhrine of Paul's Croſs?

But

But it may be worth while, to hear the king's own words at full length. "Some of Vorſtius's books were brought over into England; and, as it was reported, not without the knowledge and direction of the author. And, about the ſame time, one Bertius, a ſcholar of the late Arminius (who [viz. Arminius] was the firſt in our age that infected Leyden with hereſy) was ſo impudent as to ſend a letter unto the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with a book, entitled, *De Apoſtaſiâ Sanctorum*. And, not thinking it ſufficient to avow the ſending of ſuch a book (the title whereof only, were enough to make it worthy the fire), hee was moreover ſo ſhameleſs, as to maintaine, in his letter to the archbiſhop, that the doctrine contained in his booke was agreeable with the doctrine of the Church of England. Let the Church of Chriſt then judge, whether it was not high time for us to beſtir ourſelves, when as this gangrene had not only taken hold amongſt our neereſt neighbours, [viz. the Dutch], ſo as *non ſolum paries proximus jam ardebat*, not only the next houſe was on fire, but did alſo begin to creep into the bowells of our own kingdom. For which cauſe, having firſt given order that the ſaid books of Vorſtius ſhould be publicly burnt, as well in Paul's Church-yard, as in bothe the Univerſitys of this kingdome; we thought good to renew our former requeſt unto the States (of Holland), for the baniſhment of Vorſtius (*u*)."

This curious king-text deſerves a commentary. And let us note, 1. What an horrible opinion James entertained of Arminius himſelf: whom his majeſty termed, an infector of Leyden with "hereſy." This was neither more nor leſs, than calling the ſaid Van Harmin an heretic; yea, an hereſiarch, or an heretical ringleader.—2. Obſerve, how vigorouſly the king aſſerted the doctrine of final perſeverance.

(*u*) Works of king James I. p. 354.——Lond. 1616.

He

He denominates the contrary tenet, of the defectibility of the ſaints, "a gangrene:" and affirms, that the very "title page alone" of Bertius's Treatiſe, rendered both title and treatiſe "worthy of the flames." —3. His majeſty ſtared (and well he might), with wonder and amazement, at Bertius's "impudence," in preſuming to ſend "ſuch" a book (a book which maintained that ſaints might ceaſe to perſevere) to an archbiſhop of the Church of England; who, as a father in that church (and ſhe never had a worthier father than archbiſhop Abbot), could not but abhor the Pelagian dream of falling finally from grace.—But, 4. Behold the royal ſurprize wound up to the higheſt aſtoniſhment, at the accumulated effrontery of Bertius. It was "impudent" in the ſaid Arminian to make a preſent of his book, againſt perſeverance, to the archbiſhop of Canterbury: but for the preſent-maker to inſinuate, that "the doctrine, contained in his book, was agreeable with the doctrine of the Church of England;" was indeed "ſhameleſs" beyond all ſufferance: ſeeing the church herſelf averrs, in the 17th article, that they, who are endued with the excellent benefit of election, or predeſtination unto life, do, at length, actually attain to everlaſting felicity.—Obſerve, 5. The anxiety, with which king James marked the progreſs of Arminianiſm in Holland. He trembled, leſt the "gangrene" ſhould extend to England alſo. He conſidered the Dutch Netherlands as his next-door neighbours: and, their houſe being "on fire" with the Arminian hereſies, he was apprehenſive leſt the heretical flames might, by Popiſh winds, be blown over to Britain.—6. He expreſſed a fear, that Arminianiſm had already "began" to "creep" into the bowels of his kingdom. His fears, however, at that time (*x*), ſeem to

(*x*) It was not 'till ten or eleven years after this period, that, as Fuller quaintly expreſſes it, "many Engliſh fouls took a cup [redacted] *much of* Belgic wine: whereby their heads have not only grown

to have been premature.—7. But the king's fears, Bertius's "impudence," and Vorſtius's impieties, all conſpired to produce one very good effect: to wit, the burning of Vorſtius's books.—8. Let it be added, that James had been almoſt nine years on the throne of England, when he burned the books aforeſaid. A proof that he did not ſoon diſcountenance the doctrines of the Reformation. His zeal for thoſe doctrines was red-hot, till he happened to find out, that his orthodoxy and his politics ſtood in each other's way. Nor muſt I omit, that his own writings, which have ſupplied me with the materials from whence the above concluſions are drawn, furniſh me likewiſe with another proof, that his perſeverance in defending the faith was long, tho' not final. For, the edition of his works, which I am now making uſe of, was printed in 1616: which will ſpin out his Calviniſtic majeſty's perſeverance to, at leaſt, that year; and that year was the fourteenth of his reign.

We have ſeen that what king James entitles, his Declaration againſt Vorſtius, is not only pregnant with threatnings, and almoſt with ſlaughters, againſt that learned Arminian; but likewiſe breathes a very bitter ſpirit of implacable reſentment againſt the memory of Arminius himſelf, who had been then dead about two years. Not ſatisfied with terming Vorſtius a "wretched heretic, or rather atheiſt (*y*)," a "monſter," an "Anti-St. John," and a "Samoſatenian

grown dizzy, in matters of leſs moment; but their whole bodies ſtagger in the fundamentals of their religion." Church. Hiſt. of Brit. Book x. p. 61.

By the Belgic, or Dutch wine, Dr. Fuller meant Arminianiſm. Which wine, tho' made in Holland, was preſſed from the Italian grape. Rome and Socinus ſupplied the fruit, and Arminius ſqueezed out the juice.

(*y*) It muſt be acknowledged, that Vorſtius laid himſelf very open to this formidable charge. Among the tenets, for which he was ſtigmatized by the king of England, were the following:

God is not unchangeable in his will.

God's

ſatenian (z);" the king hardly gives better quarter to Arminius, from whoſe root Vorſtius had ſprung. His majeſty's inſtructions to his ambaſſador in Holland, have theſe remarkable words: "You ſhall repaire to the States General, with all poſſible diligence, in our name: telling them, that wee doubt not, but that their ambaſſadours, which were with us about 2 years ſince, did inform them of a forewarning, that wee wiſhed the ſaid ambaſſadours to make unto them in our name, to beware, in time, of ſeditious and heretical preachers; and not to ſuffer any ſuch to creepe into their State. Our principal meaning was of Arminius: who though himſelf was lately dead, yet had hee left too many of his diſciples behind him (a)." The king added, that "the above-named Arminius" was "of little better ſtuff (b)," than his diſciple Vorſtius. Arminius's

God's foreknowledge is, in ſome ſort, conjectural; as having to do with things of uncertain event.

Future contingencies may, comparatively ſpeaking, be ſaid to be leſs certain, even to God himſelf, than things paſt or preſent.

If all things whatever, and every event whatever, were preciſely determined from eternity, God's providence would ceaſe to be needful.

Doctor Fuller, the hiſtorian, was not miſtaken in giving the following character of Vorſtius and his ſyſtem. "This Vorſtius had both written and received ſeveral letters from certain Samoſatenian heretics in Poland, and thereabouts: and it happened, that he had handled pitch ſo long, that at laſt it ſtuck to his fingers, and [he] became infected therewith. Whereas it hath been the labour of the pious and learned, in all ages, to mount man to God, as much as might be, by a ſacred adoration (which, the more humble, the more high) of the divine incomprehenſibleneſs; this wretch did ſeek to ſtoop God to man, by debaſing his purity; aſſigning him a material body; confining his immenſity, as not being every where; ſhaking his immutability, as if his will were ſubject to change; darkening his omniſciency, as uncertain in future contingents; with many more monſtrous opinions, fitter to be remanded to hell, than committed to writing." Church Hiſt. x. 60.

In ſhort, if Vorſtius was (as he ſtrongly appears to have been) a materialiſt, the king did him no injury in calling him an atheiſt.

(z) James's Works, p. 349. 350. 365. 377.

(a) King James's Works, p. 350. (b) Ibid.

own

own writings bear full witneſs to the juſtneſs of James's remark. And, continued his majeſty, "though [Arminius] himſelfe be dead, he hath left his ſting yet living among them (*c*)."

In a letter to the States themſelves, his majeſty informs them, "It was our [i. e. king James's own] hard hap, not to heare of this Arminius, before he was dead, and that all the reformed churches of Germany had with open mouth complained of him. But as ſoon as wee underſtood of that diſtraction in your State, which after his death he left behind him, we did not faile, taking the opportunitie when your laſt extraordinary ambaſſadors were here with us, to uſe ſome ſuch ſpeeches unto them, concerning this matter, as wee thought fitteſt for the good of your State, and which we doubt not but they have faithfully reported unto you. For, what need we make any queſtion of the arrogance of theſe heretiques, or rather atheiſtical ſectaries, among you; when one of them [viz. Bertius, already noted], at this preſent remaining in your town of Leyden, hath not only preſumed to publiſh, of late, a blaſphemous booke of the apoſtacie of the ſaints, but hath, beſides, beene ſo impudent as to ſend, the other day, a copie thereof, as a goodly preſent, to our archbiſhop of Canterbury? together with a letter, wherein he [Bertius] is not aſhamed (as alſo in his booke) to lie ſo groſsly, as to avow, that his hereſies, conteined in his ſaid booke, are agreeable with the religion and profeſſion of our reformed Church of England. For theſe reſpects, therefore, have we cauſe enough, very heartily to requeſt you to roote out, with ſpeed, thoſe hereſies and ſchiſmes, which are beginning to bud foorth among you: which if you ſuffer to have the reines any longer, you cannot expect any other iſſue thereof, than the curſe of God, infamy throughout all the reformed churches, and a

(*c*) Ibid.

perpetual

perpetual rent and diſtraction in the whole body of your State. But if, peradventure, this wretched Vorſtius ſhould denie or equivocate upon thoſe blaſphemous poynts of hereſie and atheiſm, which already he hath broached; that, perhaps, may moove you to ſpare his perſon and not cauſe him to bee burned (which never any heretique better deſerved, and wherein we will leave him to your owne chriſtian wiſdome): but to ſuffer him, upon any defence, or abnegation, which hee ſhall offer to make, ſtill to continue and to teach amongſt you, is a thing ſo abominable, as, we aſſure ourſelves, it will not once enter into any of your thoughts (*d*)."

More matter for diſquiſition! But my remarks ſhall not be exuberant. Obſerve, then, 1. That Bertius's book againſt final perſeverance, and his preſenting a copy of it to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, but chiefly his having affirmed that he [Bertius] and the Church of England were of one mind in that point; were inſults, which James's orthodoxy could neither forget nor digeſt.——2. In his majeſty's opinion, Vorſtius was an "heretic," a "monſter," and an "atheiſt;" and Arminius was "of little better ſtuff."——3. So obſcure was Arminius, during his life-time, and ſo little progreſs had Arminianiſm then made; that the king had never ſo much as heard of Arminius 'till after the ſaid Arminius "was dead." A circumſtance, which James lamented, and called by the name of "hard hap:" intimating, that had he known of Arminius's ſchiſm, while the ſchiſmatic himſelf was in the land of the living, the royal pen would have been drawn no leſs againſt Van Harmin himſelf, than it was, afterwards, againſt Vorſtius.—4. As ſoon as Arminius's Pelagian innovations became known, the Proteſtants were ſtruck with alarm: "All the reformed churches in Germany," and elſewhere, "complained

(*d*) Ibid. p. 355.

of

of him," i. e. complained of Arminius, "with open mouth."—5. When king James became acquainted with Arminius's tenets, conduct, and character, his majesty pronounced him to have been, "a seditious and heretical preacher:" Yea, a monster with a "sting," and an "enemy of God."—6. James also declared the new Arminians, or (as himself expressed it), the "too many disciples" whom Arminius "left behinde him," to be "arrogant heretics," and "atheistical sectaries."—7. In the judgment of the said king, Bertius's Treatise against Perseverance, was a "presumptuous" and a "blasphemous" book: and the author himself an "impudent heretic," and a "gross liar." Terms, these, I acknowledge, utterly unfit for a king to make use of: but James had no more of politeness in his composition, than he supposed the Arminians to have of Christianity in their system.—8. He "very heartily" requested the States General to "root out" the Arminians, as "heretics" and "schismatics:" and enforces his exhortation, under the penalty of God's "curse," of "infamy" among men, and of perpetual "rent" and "distraction" throughout the whole body of the Dutch Provinces.—9. He desires them to divest Vorstius of his promotion:—10. To banish him from their dominions:—and 11. In his plenitude of outrageous zeal, he drops a pretty broad hint, that the magistrates of Holland would greatly oblige the king of England, were they to "cause" Vorstius "to be burned:" a death, says his majesty, "which never any heretic better deserved." An horrid intimation! but worthy of the sanguinary tyrant that gave it! The Calvinistic doctrines, retained by such an ungracious bigot, resembled (what some naturalists have feigned) a pearl in the head of a toad.—12. Let it not be over-looked, that James's declaration against Vorstius, in which the above cited particulars occur, is solemnly dedicated and inscribed, by the king himself,

himſelf, to Jeſus Chriſt (*e*). I ſee, therefore, no reaſon to doubt of the ſincerity with which he oppoſed Arminianiſm. Bad as he was, he was certainly in earneſt. Tho' ſome other ingredients, beſides that of mere zeal for the Proteſtant doctrines, had, tis probable, a ſhare in the violent counſels with which his Britannic majeſty ſo officiouſly peſtered the States of Holland.

It was, however, no new thing with James, to hate and oppoſe Arminianiſm. Of this, he had before given ſufficient proof, during the conference held at Hampton Court, in the very infancy of his Engliſh reign.

The ſeverity of Elizabeth's laws, againſt the Puritans, had retained a great number of that body within the viſible pale of the Church eſtabliſhed, and forced them into a ſort of outward conformity to inſtitutions which they were extremely remote from cordially approving. Theſe, and a very few others, whom no coercive penalties had induced to temporize, flattered themſelves, that James, who was by profeſſion a Preſbyterian, would, on ſucceeding to Elizabeth's throne, relax and widen the terms of communion.

It is extremely problematical, whether James, even when king of Scotland only, entertained any ſerious intention to favour thoſe people, ſhould he ever have it in his power. He ſeems, from the firſt,

(*e*) That frivolous pride, which diſplays it's plumes, in order to attract the admiration of our fellow mortals, froths and evaporates into vanity. But the ſolemn pride, which dares unfurl itſelf to the eye of Heaven, blackens and condenſes into impiety. 'Tis hard to ſay, whether James diſcovered more weakneſs, or profaneneſs, in this extraordinary dedication; wherein he preſumed to addreſs the Saviour of ſinners, in a ſtyle, which breathed more of equality, than of adoration: ſubſcribing himſelf our Lord's

"Moſt humble, and moſt obliged ſervant,
JAMES, by the grace of God,
King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland;
Defender of the Faith."

Works, p. 348.

to

to have drank very deeply into the low arts of a narrow ſubtilty, which diſfigured and diſcoloured all the leading actions of his life. Twelve or thirteen years before he aſcended the throne of England, he laboured to ingratiate himſelf with the Scotch kirk, by an indecent (and, as heir preſumptive to Elizabeth, by a very impolitic) cenſure of the Engliſh ritual. "As for our neighbour Kirk of England," ſaid he, ſtanding in an aſſembly of his clergy, with his head uncovered, and his hands (in one of which, he held his bonnet) raiſed toward heaven; "As for our neighbour Kirk of England, their ſervice is an evil maſs ſaid in Engliſh. They want nothing of the maſs, but the liftings. I charge you, my good miniſters, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to ſtand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the ſame. And I, forſooth, as long as I brook my life, ſhall maintain the ſame." This was in 1590. Eight years after, he told his parliament, that he had no intention "to bring in Papiſtical or Anglican biſhops (*f*)." Such were his compliments on the Church of England.

But he was no ſooner at the head of that Church, than he either dropped the (*g*) maſque, or was pro-

(*f*) See Harris's Life of James I. p. 25, 26.

(*g*) A maſque indeed it ſeems to have always been: but, if James's own atteſtation be admitted as valid, his hypocriſy is certain, and placed beyond diſpute. For, ſays Barlow, his majeſty profeſſed, at the Hampton conference, that tho', in the foregoing part of his life, he had "lived among Puritans, and was kept, for the moſt part, as a ward under them; yet, ſince he was of the age of his ſonne, ten years old, he ever diſliked their opinions: as the Saviour of the world ſaid, tho' he lived among them, he was not of them." (Summe and ſubſt. of the conference, &c. p. 20. edit. 1625).——Thus was James not aſhamed, to confeſs himſelf an hypocrite from the tenth to the thirty ſeventh year of his age: i. e. an hypocrite of ſeven and twenty years ſtanding! And (which crowned this unbluſhing declaration with the moſt ſhocking impiety) the adorable Redeemer of men, in whoſe mouth was no guile, is profanely lugged in as a pander to the duplicity of the moſt contemptible diſſembler that ever entangled the reins of government.

ſelyted by the Engliſh prelates, who had ſeaſonably and diſcreetly gained his ear. The Puritans in this kingdom quickly found, that they had miſtaken their man: for James was ſhot up, all at once, into a very high church-man.

Under pretence of trying to bring matters to an amicable compromiſe between the Epiſcopalians and the Preſbyterians, a conference was opened at Hampton Court, between the two parties, on Saturday, the 14th of January, 1604. But, on the king's ſide, the whole interview was only a mere ſtate manœuvre, and no otherwiſe deſigned from the firſt. Every circumſtance demonſtrated, that it had been reſolved, beforehand, to let all things continue as they were. Dr. Welwood is undoubtedly right, in affirming, that the conference at Hampton Court "was but a blind to introduce epiſcopacy into Scotland: all the Scotch noblemen, then at court, being deſigned to be preſent; and others, both noblemen and miniſters, being called up, from Scotland, to aſſiſt at it, by the king's letter (*b*)."

How contemptible James rendered himſelf, in the courſe of the three days debate, abundantly appears, even from the well-gloſſed narrative of Barlow. So far from preſerving the dignity of a king, or the candour of a public father, or even the decent coolneſs of a moderator; he behaved, on one hand, with all the weakneſs of a dupe: and, on the other, with all the inſolence of a bully.

His majeſty, and Bancroft biſhop of London, monopolized much of the conference to themſelves. That prelate has been repreſented, as having leaned to Arminianiſm: but, for my life, I could never find any proof of it. Sure I am, that, during the ſaid Hampton conference, his lordſhip acquitted

(*b*) Compl. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 665.

himſelf,

himſelf, in all theological reſpects, like a ſober, judicious, well-principled Calviniſt.

Dr. Reinolds, one of the four who appeared for the Puritans, moved, that part of the 16th article might be explained; and that the famous Lambeth articles might be incorporated with the 39 (*i*).

James, it ſeems, had never heard of thoſe Lambeth articles before: and therefore, ſays Barlow, "His majeſty could not ſuddenly anſwer; becauſe he underſtood not what the Doctor meant by thoſe aſſertions, or propoſitions at Lambeth. But, when it was informed his majeſty, that, by reaſon of ſome controverſies, ariſing in Cambridge, about certaine points of divinity, my lord's grace" [viz. Whitgift, archbiſhop of Canterbury] "aſſembled ſome divines of eſpecial note, to ſet downe their opinions, which they drew into nine aſſertions; and ſo ſent them to the Univerſity, for appeaſing of thoſe quarrels: Then his majeſty anſwered, 1. That, when ſuch queſtions ariſe among ſchollers, the quieteſt proceeding were to determine them in the Univerſities, and not to ſtuffe the booke [viz. the 39 articles] with concluſions theological. 2. The better courſe would be, to puniſh the broachers, of falſe doctrine, as occaſion ſhould be offered: for were the articles never ſo many and ſound, who can prevent the contrary opinions of men 'till they be heard?"

Hence it appears, 1. That one reaſon of James's declining to ſuper-add, by expreſs authority, the articles of Lambeth to the nine and thirty eſtabliſhed articles of the church, was, not any diſapprobation of the Lambeth articles themſelves; but becauſe he was unwilling to "ſtuffe," i. e. to enlarge, the 39 articles with more "concluſions theologicall," than were needful. And, herein, the king judged wiſely enough. There was no ſort of neceſſity for inſerting the Lambeth propoſitions: ſince they do not

(*i*) Summe of the Conf. p. 24 & 39.

affirm any ſingle doctrine, which is not, either expreſsly, or virtually, contained, in the 39 articles already eſtabliſhed.———I obſerve, 2. That the king, on being informed what the Lambeth articles were, and on what occaſion they had been framed, did tacitly allow the orthodoxy of the ſaid articles: for he gave the company to underſtand, that there was the leſs need of embodying thoſe articles with the thirty-nine, as himſelf ſtood in conſtant readineſs to "puniſh" the "broachers of falſe doctrine:" i. e. to puniſh thoſe who might broach any doctrine contrary to that of the Lambeth articles, and of the 39 articles of the Church of England.

No ſooner did James intimate this his deſign of puniſhing the "broachers of falſe doctrine;" than a certain perſon, then preſent, took the alarm, and began to enter a caveat in his own behalf. This was Dr. John Overall, at that time dean of St. Paul's, and who died biſhop of Norwich. He was ſuppoſed, by ſome, to have been a ſort of mongrel divine; half-Calviniſt, and half-Arminian. But I am not diſpoſed to judge ſo harſhly of that learned man. The only article, in which (ſo far as I can hitherto recollect) he appears to have deviated from the Proteſtant ſyſtem, was, reſpecting the poſſibility of a total (though he denied the poſſibility of a final) fall from juſtification.

"Upon this," i. e. inſtantaneouſly on James's profeſſing his intention to puniſh the broachers of falſe doctrine as occaſion ſhould be offered, "the deane of Paules, kneeling downe, humbly deſired leave to ſpeak: ſignifying unto his majeſty, that this matter ſomewhat more nearly concerned him [viz. the ſpeaking dean], by reaſon of controverſie betweene him and ſome other in Cambridge, upon a propoſition which he had delivered there: namely, that whoſoever, although before juſtified, did commit any grievous ſin, as adultery, murder, treaſon, or the like, did become, *ipſo facto*, ſubject to God's wrath,

wrath, and guilty of damnation; or were in ſtate of damnation, *quoad præſentem ſtatum*, until they repented (*k*)."

Thus ſpake the kneeling dean: and the ſum of his opinion certainly amounted to this, that a juſtified man might totally loſe his juſtification. But whether the ſaid dean (who, doubtleſs, kept his eyes ſteadily fixed on the king, and acutely watched every motion of the royal face) actually diſcerned any ſymptoms of incipient diſpleaſure louring on his majeſty's brow; or whether the prudent eccleſiaſtic only intended to guard himſelf, in general, againſt all poſſible "puniſhment" as a "broacher of falſe doctrine;" cannot, at this diſtance of time, be infallibly determined. Thus much, however, is certain: that, for ſome preſent reaſon or other, the dean, in the very midſt of his oration, ſuddenly wheeled about, and poſitively denied that juſtification could be even totally, much leſs finally, loſt. For thus the narrative proceeds: "Adding hereunto," i. e. dean Overall, immediately after declaring that juſtified perſons, who fall into atrocious ſins, are in a ſtate of damnation, *quoad præſentem ſtatum*, until they repent; ſubjoined, in the ſame breath, "That thoſe which were called and juſtified according to the purpoſe of God's election, howſoever they might, and did, ſometime fall into grievous ſins, and thereby into the preſent ſtate of wrath and damnation; yet did never fall, either totally, from all the graces of God, [ſo as] to bee utterly deſtitute of all the parts and ſeed thereof, nor finally from juſtification: but were in time renewed by God's ſpirit, unto a lively faith and repentance, &c. (*l*)."

This ſeaſonable ſalvo ſaved Overall's credit with his majeſty. James, whoſe ſcience lay more in terms, than in things, was extremely well ſatisfied

(*k*) Summe of the Con. p. 41, 42. (*l*) Ibid. p. 42.

with his dean's orthodoxy. As long as ſome oſtenſible reſpect was paid to the two words, total and final; the royal diſputant looked no farther.

The king, however, embraced this opportunity of entering "into a longer ſpeech of predeſtination and reprobation, than before; and of the neceſſary conjoyning repentance and holineſſe of life with true faith: concluding, that it was hypocriſie, and not true juſtifying faith, which was ſevered from them. For although," added his majeſty, "predeſtination and election depend not on any qualities, actions, or works of man, which be mutable; but upon God's eternal and immutable decree and purpoſe: yet, ſuch is the neceſſity of repentance, after knowne ſinnes committed, as that, without it, there could not be, either reconciliation with God, or remiſſion of thoſe ſins (*m*)."

Should the reader aſk, 'Why I ſo carefully recite what paſſed, in the Hampton Court conference, reſpecting predeſtination?' I anſwer: To ſhew the total want of truth, with which ſome late Arminian writers inſinuate, that predeſtination was not, at that time, a ſacred article of faith with James and the ruling clergy.

In this ſame conference it was, that Bancroft (then biſhop of London, and, ſhortly afterwards, archbiſhop of Canterbury) ſuggeſted that ſcriptural and judicious caution, concerning predeſtination, which has been already referred to in a (*n*) preceding part of this work. That great and able prelate's own words ſhall cloſe our preſent ſketch of the Hampton interview.—"The biſhop of London took occaſion to ſignifie to his majeſty, how very many, in theſe daies, neglecting holineſſe of life, preſumed too much of perſiſting of grace, laying all their religion upon predeſtination; [arguing thus with themſelves], if I ſhall bee ſaved, I ſhall be ſaved: which

(*m*) Ibid. p. 43, 44. (*n*) See vol. i. p. 273.

he

he [the biſhop] termed [and with great reaſon] a deſperate doctrine, contrary to good divinity, and the true doctrine of predeſtination; wherein wee ſhould reaſon, rather *aſcendendo*, than *deſcendendo*, thus: I live in obedience to God, in love with my neighbour; I follow my vocation, &c. therefore I truſt, that God hath elected me, and predeſtinated me to ſalvation. Not thus, which is the uſual courſe of argument, God hath predeſtinated and choſen me to life, therefore, tho' I ſin never ſo grievouſly, yet I ſhal not be damned (*o*)."

In this excellent caveat againſt the abuſe of predeſtination, Bancroft goes no farther than Calvin himſelf had gone before. *Sit igitur hæc nobis inquirendi via ut exordium ſumamus a Dei vocatione*; ſays that illuſtrious reformer: i. e. In all our enquiries into predeſtination, let us never fail to begin with effectual calling (*p*).——Again: There are ſome who go on, ſecurely, in ſin; alledging, that, if they are in the number of the elect, their vices will not hinder them from going to heaven. Such execrable language, as this, is not the holy bleating of Chriſt's ſheep; but, as Calvin very juſtly ſtyles it, *fœdus porcorum grunnitus*, the impure grunting of ſwine. For, adds that incomparable man, we learn from St. Paul, that we are elected to this very end, even to holineſs and blameleſſneſs of living. Now, if ſanctity of life is the very end, ſcope, and drift of election itſelf; 'twill follow, that the doctrine of election ſhould awaken and ſpur us on to ſanctification, inſtead of furniſhing us with a falſe plea for indolence (*q*). Thus perfectly were Calvin and Bancroft agreed.

Almoſt

(*o*) Summe of the Conf. p. 29. (*p*) Calvini Inſtit. p. 3. c. 24. ſ. 4. (*q*) Ille autem fœdus porcorum grunnitus à Paulo ritè compeſcitur. Securos ſe in vitiis pergere, dicunt; quia, ſi ſint è numero electorum, nihil obſutura ſint vitia, quominus tandem ad vitam perducantur. Atqui in hunc finem electos eſſe nos Paulus admonet, ut ſanctum ac inculpatam vitam traducamus. Si electionis

Almoſt fifteen years after the Hampton Court conference, king James and the Church of England gave the moſt public proof of their continued Calviniſm, by the diſtinguiſhed part they bore in the tranſactions of the ſynod of Dort.

The diſturbances, raiſed and fomented by the Arminian faction, in Holland, were, in the year 1618, (i. e. about nine years after Arminius's deceaſe), riſen to ſuch a height, as threatened to involve both the church and ſtate of the United Provinces in one common maſs of total ruin. What emboldened the Arminians, was, the ſecret encouragement they received from foreign and domeſtic Papiſts. We have already heard, from Wilſon, that the kings of France and Spain clandeſtinely blowed the Arminian flame in Holland, "as the immediate way to introduce Popery." And Mr. Camden has preſerved the name of one of the French agents, who were privately diſpatched to Holland on that laudable errand. "July 27, news was brought [viz. to the Engliſh court], of Boſſis, a Frenchman, being ſent into the Low Countries, to ſtrengthen the Catholic and Arminian parties (*r*)." Sir Dudley Carlton, alſo, who was ambaſſador from the Engliſh court to the States General, makes expreſs mention, in a letter to archbiſhop Abbot, of "the French ambaſſador's private practices in favour of the Arminian party (*s*)." Could the Dutch Arminians juſtly complain, if they were treated as enemies to their country?

Treated ſo they undoubtedly were, for a time: and no faction upon earth ever deſerved it more. They artfully attempted to make Europe believe, that they were perſecuted, entirely, on account of

ſcopus eſt vitæ ſanctimonia, magis ad eam alacritèr meditandam expergefacere et ſtimulare nos debet quàm ad defidæ prætextum valere. Calvinus, Ibid. cap. 23. ſ. 2.

(*r*) Camden's Annals of King James I. ſub. An. 1618.

(*s*) See the Letters annexed to Mr. Hales's Remains; p. 176.—Edit. 1673.

their

their religious tenets. But it was no ſuch thing. They were repreſſed as public enemies to the State. The danger, indeed, and the venom of their political views conduced, very naturally, to bring their theological principles into additional diſcredit. Yet were they perſecuted (as they called it), not merely as Arminians but as traitors.

" On the 19th of Auguſt [1618], the prime ringleaders of the ſedition, Barnevelt, Hoogenberts, and Grotius, were ſeized on at the Hague, as they were entering the Senate, and committed to ſeveral priſons. This caſt a general damp on the ſpirits of the remonſtrants [for ſo the Arminians called themſelves], as if they had been cruſhed in the head (*t*)."

Of the three delinquents, only Barnevelt was ſacrificed to the juſtice of his injured country. He ſuffered decapitation at the Hague, May 14, 1619. The ſentence, by which he was condemned, enumerated, without any exaggeration, the principal crimes, whereby he had violated the duties of a good citizen. Among others, he was juſtly charged with having endeavoured to diſturb the peace of the land; with kindling the fire of diſſention in the provinces; raiſing ſoldiers in the dioceſe of Utrecht; revealing the ſecrets of the State; and receiving preſents and gifts from foreign princes. Even Peter Heylyn confeſſes to have heard, that the Spaniſh court ſecretly fomented the deſigns of Barnevelt (*u*).

Nor could any thing be more natural. Philip III. ſtill conſidered the United Provinces as a parcel of his own dominions: and, indeed, they had ſhaken off his yoke but a very few years before, and were not acknowledged, by Spain, as a free ſtate, till thirty years after, viz. the year 1648. No wonder, therefore, that king Philip ſought with eagerneſs, to avail himſelf of the Arminian ſchiſm: a ſchiſm, which,

(*t*) Wilſon, u. ſ. p. 718. (*u*) Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians, p. 396.

at

at once, bade fair to exterminate the Proteſtant religion from the Dutch Netherlands, and to reduce them afreſh to the obedience of Spain. Hence aroſe Philip's ſecret tamperings with Barnevelt, the ſecular head and protector of that Arminian ſect, from whoſe doctrinal innovations and political intrigues the Spaniſh monarch had ſo many advantages to expect. But the wiſdom, courage, and activity of Maurice, prince of Orange, were the means, which Providence uſed, to defeat the iniquitous ſchemes of the Arminian and Spaniſh faction. The ſeizure of the principal rebels and incendiaries, together with the execution of Barnevelt, in whom both thoſe characters were united; laid, once more, that foundation of national liberty and ſafety, which the Dutch to this day enjoy, and which have ſince conduced to render that illuſtrious republic of ſuch weight and importance in the European ſcale.

What prince Maurice did for the State, the council of Dort did for the church of Holland: as if pure religion and civil liberty were irreverſibly fated to fall and riſe together.

The Reformation appears to have been firſt introduced into the Dutch Provinces, by the numerous French refugees, who fled thither, about the middle of the ſixteenth century. For ſome time, Proteſtantiſm diffuſed itſelf inſenſibly among the natives, who were then ſubject to the crown of Spain. By degrees, the progreſs of evangelical truth became ſo extenſive, and the number of its partizans grew ſo conſiderable, and, about the year 1567, they ventured to draw up a confeſſion of faith, formed entirely on the ſyſtem of Calvin. Their Spaniſh governors ſoon took the alarm. To check the ſpreading hereſy, and to reſtrain the Dutch within the bonds both of Popiſh and of Spaniſh obedience, the inquiſition was eſtabliſhed by force; and that bloody

tribunal

tribunal diſpatched multitudes of ſouls, by a ſhort way to Heaven. Civil and eccleſiaſtical grievances were, at length, ſo multiplied and aggravated, that the people, harraſſed by a never-ending train of intolerable oppreſſions, were compelled to ſeek relief in themſelves. Every tyranny has its criſis; which having attained, the mock-ſun declines, more rapidly than it roſe. Providence ſucceeded the pious and patriotic efforts of the Dutch. After ſome years noble and obſtinate ſtruggle, thoſe Provinces threw off Popery and ſlavery together. The pure religion of the goſpel continued to ſhine, with uninterrupted beams, for the moſt part, on that free and happy people; 'till Arminius darkened and diſturbed their hemiſphere. The commotions, began by that peſtilent ſchiſmatic, and raiſed to almoſt a ruinous height, by his immediate followers, were, as has been already intimated, ſuppreſſed by prince Maurice and his patriots, ſo far as concerned the State. To extinguiſh the fire which had half conſumed the church, and to re-ſettle its faith on its original Calviniſtic baſis, was the taſk aſſigned to the ſynod at Dort.

That famous aſſembly began to ſit, on Tueſday morning, November the thirteenth, 1618. The States of Holland intended, at firſt, that the ſynod ſhould conſiſt of no more than their own provincial divines. It was at the perſuaſion of (*x*) king James I. (whoſe requeſt was ſignified and ſeconded by Maurice prince of Orange), that ſelect miniſters, deputed from England and from other reformed countries, were admitted to aſſiſt in the deliberations at Dort. His majeſty, doubtleſs, wiſhed to

(*x*) "Ad eandem [viz. Synodum], præter profeſſores noſtros, ac miniſtros, ſenioreſque, exquiſitæ eruditionis viros; ex vicinis regnis, ditionibus, ac rebuſpublicis, quæ religionem profitentur reformatam, ſuaſu imprimis maximi ac ſereniſſimi Jacobi I. Dei gratiâ, magnæ Britanniæ regis, & aurificano principe in conſilium adhibito, celeberrimos theologus vocavimus."

Acta ſynodi Dordrecht. In Dedic.—Edit. Dord. 1620. 4

ſeize

ſeize ſo fair an occaſion of avowing, to all Europe, both his own doctrinal Calviniſm, and that of the Church of England.

Heylyn himſelf gives us to underſtand, that James's immediate view was, to condemn the Arminian tenets with the greater formality: "Thoſe opinions," ſays Heylyn, "which he (the king) had laboured to condemn at the ſynod at Dort (*y*)." The ſame writer informs us, that the Dutch, antecedently to the actual calling together of that ſynod, took care "to invite to their aſſiſtance, ſome divines, out of all the churches of Calvin's platform; and none elſe (*z*)." In ſaying whereof, the Arminian unwarily concedes the church of England, among the reſt, to be a church of Calvin's platform; as, in point of doctrine, ſhe certainly is, and has been from her very firſt reformation.

James's requeſt being granted, and what divines, he might pleaſe to ſend, being invited; his majeſty nominated four very eminent dignitaries, to repreſent the Church of England, in the ſynod; and one divine to repreſent the Church of Scotland. The Engliſh repreſentatives were, Dr. George Carleton, then biſhop of Landaff, and afterwards of Chicheſter; Dr. Joſeph Hall, then dean of Worceſter, afterwards biſhop of Exeter, and, laſtly, of Norwich; Dr. John Davenant, then maſter of Queen's College, Cambridge, and Margaret profeſſor; afterwards, biſhop of Saliſbury; and Dr. Samuel Ward, maſter of Sydney College, and archdeacon of Taunton.

The four Engliſh divines waited on the king, at Newmarket, to receive his inſtructions. What thoſe inſtructions were, may be ſeen in Fuller (*a*). On the 8th of October, 1618, Dr. Davenant and Dr. Ward attended his majeſty, once more, at

(*y*) Life of Laud, p. 120. (*z*) Ibid. p. 75. (*a*) Church Hiſt. book x. p. 77, 78.

Royſton;

Royſton; who, commanding them to ſit down, converſed very familiarly with them for two hours; and, on parting, ſolemnly beſought God to bleſs their endeavours at the enſuing ſynod (*b*).

Sailing from the Engliſh coaſt, our four delegates landed at Middleburgh, in Zealand, October 20; arrived at the Hague, on the 27th, where they had the honour to kiſs the hand of the laurelled patriot, prince Maurice; and, from thence, repaired to Dort, the main ſcene of action. Dr. Balcanqual, who appears to have ſat out later, did not take his place in the ſynod, until December 10.

The members of this ſynod formed a conſtellation of the beſt and moſt learned theologians that had ever met in council, ſince the diſperſion of the apoſtles; unleſs we except the imperial convocation at Nice, in the fourth century. Read but the names of Heinſius, Lydius, Hommius, Voetius, Biſterfield, Triglandius, Bojermannus, Sibelius, Gomarus, Polyander, Thyſius, Walæus, Scultetus, Altingius, Deodatus, Carleton, Davenant, Hall; excluſively of the many other firſt-rate worthies, who conſtituted and adorned this ever memorable aſſembly; and doubt, if you can, whether the ſun could ſhine on a living collection of more exalted piety and ſtupendous erudition.

That low and virulent Arminian, John Goodwin, the fifth monarchy man, compares the ſynod with Herod, who, "for his oath's ſake, contrary to his minde, cauſed John the baptiſt's head to be given to Herodias in a platter (*c*)." Intimating, that the Dordrechtan fathers had, before the commencement of their ſynodical buſineſs, taken an oath to condemn the Arminians at all events.—Dr. Fuller is even with Goodwin, and repays that libeller in his own coin, by comparing him to Pilate. "See here," ſays the hiſtorian, "how this ſuggeſter, though at firſt he

(*b*) Fuller, Ibid, p. 78. (*c*) See Fuller, u. ſ. p. 84.

takes

takes water, and waſhes his hands, with a 'far be it from me to ſubſcribe the report;' yet, afterwards, he crucifies the credit of an whole ſynod, and makes them all guilty of no leſs than damnable perjury.

"I could have wiſhed, that he had mentioned, in the margin, the authors of this ſuggeſtion.—Whereas, now, the omiſſion thereof will give occaſion to ſome, to ſuſpect him for the firſt raiſer of the report.——Muſing with myſelf on this matter, and occaſionally exchanging letters with the ſons of biſhop Hall; it came into my mind, to aſk them Joſeph's queſtion to his Brethren, Is your father well? the old man, of whom ye ſpake, is he yet alive? And, being informed of his life and health, I addreſſed myſelf, in a letter, to him, for ſatisfaction in this particular; who was pleaſed to honour me with this return, herein inſerted:

"Whereas you deſire from me a juſt relation of the carriage of the buſineſſe at the ſynod at Dort: and the conditions required of our divines there, at or before their admiſſion to that grave and learned aſſembly; I, whom God was pleaſed to employ as an unworthy agent in that great work, and to reſerve ſtill upon earth, after all my reverend and worthy aſſociates doe; as in the preſence of that God to whom I am now daily expecting to yield up my account, teſtifie to you, and (if you will) to the world, that I cannot, without juſt indignation, read that ſlanderous imputation, which Mr. Goodwin, in his Redemption Redeemed, reports to have been raiſed and caſt upon thoſe divines, eminent both for learning and piety, that they ſuffered themſelves to be bound with an oath, at, or before their admiſſion into that ſynod, to vote down the remonſtrants [i. e. the Arminians] howſoever; ſo as they came deeply pre-engaged to the deciſion of thoſe unhappy differences.——Truly, Sir, as I hope to be ſaved, all the oath that was required of us, was this: After that the moderator, aſſiſtants, and ſcribes were

choſen,

choſen, and the ſynod formed, and the ſeveral members allowed, there was a ſolemn oath required to be taken by every one of that aſſembly; which was publicly done, in a grave manner, by every perſon, in their order, ſtanding up, and laying his hand upon his heart, calling the great God of Heaven to witneſſe, that he would unpartially proceed in the judgment of theſe controverſies, and no otherwiſe: ſo determining of them, as he ſhould find in his conſcience moſt agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. And this was all the oath, that was either taken, or required. And farre was it from thoſe holy ſouls, which are now glorious in Heaven, or mine (who ſtill, for ſome ſhort time, ſurvive, to give this juſt witneſſe of our ſincere integrity), to entertain the leaſt thought of any ſo foul corruption, as, by any over-ruling power, to be ſwayed to a pre-judgment in the points controverted.——Sir, ſince I have lived to ſee ſo foul an aſperſion caſt upon the memory of thoſe worthy and eminent divines, I bleſſe God that I yet live to vindicate them, by this my knowing, clear, and aſſured atteſtation; which I am ready to ſecond with the ſolemneſt oath, if I ſhall be thereto required.

"Your moſt devoted friend, &c.

"Jos. HALL, B. N." (*d*)

"Higham, Aug. 30, 1651."

Judge now, what degree of credit is due to the malevolent inſinuations of John Goodwin. The wretch lived no fewer than ten years after Dr. Fuller's publication of the above letter. Yet he never, ſo far as I can find, either retracted the ſlander he had advanced, or even apologized for it.

(*d*) Fuller, u. ſ. p. 85. 86.

So

So hardened was his front, and ſo thoroughly was he drenched in the petrifying water of a party (*e*)!

King James's heart was quite wrapt up in the ſynod; and all his attention ſeemed collected to a point, as long as the divines were ſitting. With ſuch eagerneſs and anxiety did he intereſt himſelf in the condemnation of Arminianiſm, that he commanded his Britiſh divines to ſend him "a weekly account of all memorable paſſages tranſacted at [Dort]. Yet it happened, that, for a month, or more, the king received from them no particulars of their proceeding: whereat his majeſty was moſt highly offended. But, afterwards, underſtanding

(*e*) The oath, taken by each member of the ſynod, of which biſhop Hall recites the ſubſtance; ran *verbatim*, thus:

Promitto, coram Deo, quem præſentiſſimum renumque & cordium ſcrutatorem credo et veneror, me, in totâ hâc ſynodali actione, quâ inſtituetur examen, judicium, & deciſio, tum de notis quinque articulis, & difficultatibus inde orientibus, tum de omnibus reliquis doctrinalibus; non ulla ſcripta humana, ſed ſolum Dei verbum, pro certâ ac indubitatâ fidei regulâ adhibiturum; mihique, in totâ hâc causâ, nihil propoſitum fore, præter Dei gloriam, tranquillitatem eccleſiæ, & cum primis conſervationem puritatis doctrinæ. Ita propitius mihi ſit ſervator meus Jeſus Chriſtus; quem precor ardentiſſimè, ut, in hoc propoſito, ſpiritûs ſui gratia mihi perpetuò adſit.

i. e.

I promiſe, before God, whom I believe and worſhip as the ever preſent ſearcher of the reins and hearts, that I will, in the whole buſineſs and tranſaction of this ſynod (wherein ſhall be appointed an enquiry, judgment, and deciſion, as well concerning the famous Five Points, and the intricacies ariſing from them, as concerning all the other doctrinal matters); that I will not admit of any human writings, but alledge the word of God only, as the certain and undoubted rule of faith: and that I will propoſe nothing whatever to myſelf, in this whole buſineſs, but the glory of God, the peace of the Church, and eſpecially the preſervation of pure doctrine. May my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt ſo be merciful to me; whom I moſt earneſtly beſeech, that he would, by the grace of his ſpirit, be ever preſent with me in this my purpoſe and reſolution.

Acta Synodi Dordr. p. 66.

☞ The Reader need not be told, that what the oath ſtiles "the famous Five Points," were, the doctrines of election, limited redemption, the ſpiritual inability of the human will through original ſin, the invincible efficacy of grace in regeneration, and the final perſeverance of truly converted perſons.

that

that this defect was cauſed by the counter-mands of an higher king, even of him who gathereth the winds in his fiſts, ſtopping all paſſages by contrary weather; he was quickly pacified: yea, highly pleaſed, when four weekly diſpatches (not neglected to be orderly ſent, but delayed to be accordingly brought) came, altogether, to his majeſty's hands(*f*)." The royal baby of fifty-three received his rattles, and was contented. For, by James, religion itſelf ſeems to have been regarded chiefly as a play-thing, which contributed to his amuſement; or, at moſt, as a pedeſtal, on which his vanity might diſplay itſelf conveniently. Two or three years, indeed, after the period of which we are now treating, he conſidered it under the more ſerious idea of a commodious engine, which he thought himſelf capable of working and managing to much political advantage.

Two and twenty ſeſſions had elapſed, ere any thing was done by the ſynod, relative to the Arminians (*g*): and yet thoſe people complained (for they came with a reſolution to complain at all events), that ſufficient time had not been allowed them to prepare their papers of defence. As if they had not known, ſeven or eight years (*h*) before the ſynod was called, that ſuch an aſſembly was to be convened! And as if, even after the ſynod began to ſit, ample ſpace had been denied them, wherein to provide for their appearance!

Determined to clog and interrupt, as much as poſſible, every wheel of public buſineſs, the Arminians, with Epiſcopius at their head, affected openly to reſent their being cited to the ſynod, as delinquents, inſtead of being invited to ſit in it, as judges.——A wonderful hardſhip indeed, that cri-

(*f*) Fuller, p. 79. (*g*) See Mr. Hales's Letters, p. 28.—Necnon Acta Synodi, p. 55. (*h*) See the Biogr. Dict. vol. vi. p. 170. Art. Grotius.

minals indicted for tranſgreſſing the laws of their country, ſhould not be invited to take their ſeat on the judicial bench!

For the farther clearing of this ſuppoſed grievance, let it be conſidered, 1. That the then Arminians of Holland (for it is of the Dutch Arminians, and of thoſe only who were then living, that we are now treating) had, by kindling a flame in the Church, formed likewiſe a very dangerous faction in the State; even ſuch a faction, as menaced the loſs, not only of religious, but of civil liberty, to the whole community at large. Hence, 2. They rendered themſelves, by every law of ſociety whatever, reſponſible to that public, whoſe ruin they had ſo nearly accompliſhed. Eſpecially, 3. When it was found, that the Popiſh courts of France and Spain (thoſe natural enemies, whoſe power the United Provinces, then in their infancy of ſtrength, had ſo juſt reaſon to dread) were actually grafting political machinations on theſe eccleſiaſtical diſputes, by aiding, ſeconding, and encouraging the Arminians to effect the total overthrow of the new-born republic.

Should it be ſaid, that "Though theſe heinous political offences deſerved puniſhment, yet their puniſhment ſhould have been aſſigned, not to the ſynod of Dort, but to the ſecular courts of juſtice;" I anſwer, 1. An injured State, whoſe legal forms of procedure (like thoſe of Holland at the above period) have not attained their full maturity, digeſtion, and eſtabliſhment, by the length of time, the regularity of equal cuſtom, and the leiſurely wiſdom of general deliberation and conſent, requiſite to ſuch a fixed ſettlement; a State ſo circumſtanced, is at full liberty to refer the cognizance of it's domeſtic diſturbers to what court ſoever it's ſelf may pleaſe to authorize.—2. The ſynod of Dort not only aſſembled and ſat by virtue of the civil authority; but was, intrinſically, both an eccleſiaſtical and a civil court. It was far from conſiſting of eccleſiaſtics only.

only. Lay aſſeſſors (or, as they were termed, "political delegates") ſat, with the ſpiritual deputies, in that great aſſembly. Conſequently, 3. A court, formed on this mixed plan, was the propereſt court in the world to judge a ſet of miſdoers, whoſe crimes were of a mixed nature. The Arminians had ſinned, equally, againſt Church and State. The civil power contented itſelf with laying hold on two or three of the moſt dangerous and inflammatory: and conſigned the reſt to a mixed tribunal, conſiſting of churchmen and of laymen. Could any government have acted with more prudence, temper, and equity?——4. After all, what if ſome of the Arminians refuſed to ſit in the ſynod, when that favour was offered them? We ſhall ſoon ſee that this was actually the caſe.

"But the ſynod of Dort did not profeſs to condemn theſe delinquents, for their ſtate-offences; but for their doctrinal deviations from the purity of the Proteſtant faith." Be it ſo. The Arminians were liable to two very heavy charges: viz. of undermining the public ſafety; and of ſeeking to overthrow the reformed religion. When two indictments thus hang over a man's head, one of which, if proved, will ſuffice to incapacitate him, for ever, from doing any further miſchief, and the man be actually found guilty of that one; what reaſon can be aſſigned, for trying him on the other? He could but be condemned, if convicted of a thouſand crimes. The ſynod of Dort fixed on one of the two charges againſt the Arminians. It was a matter of indifference, on which of the two they ſhould proceed. That ſingle charge being demonſtratively proved, there was no ſort of occaſion for their examining the merits of the ſecond. All the purpoſes, both of Church and State, were anſwered, without farther trouble; and without expoſing the mal-practices of the Arminians, beyond what abſolute neceſſity required. That ſect were, already, ſuf-

ficiently the (*k*) objects of public indignation. It would have been unmerciful, to have needleſsly ript open the whole of their criminality; when amply enough of it appeared, to juſtify every hoſtile ſtep, taken againſt them by the ſynod.

Thirteen Arminian (*l*) teachers were ſummoned to appear at Dort. On their arrival in that city, their three chiefs (viz. Epiſcopius, Corvinus, and Dwinglon) waited privately on our biſhop Carleton, in hopes of being able to prejudice him in their favour. That ſound and truſty Church of England man gave them an exceeding cool reception.—"They entreated me," ſays his lordſhip, "to mediate for them, that Grevinchovius might be admitted to their company. I told them, that the [Dutch] Church had depoſed Grevinchovius, and the States had approved the depoſition: and therefore I could not meddle in that thing. Yet they were very earneſt. I told them, I would ſend for my colleagues; and they ſhould have a common anſwer. Whilſt we ſtaid for my fellows, I fell into ſome ſpeech with Corvinus, concerning ſome things which he had written: and found him nothing conſtant in thoſe things which he hath publiſhed.—When the reſt [of the Britiſh divines] came, they gave the ſame anſwer.

(*k*) Before matters were reduced again, to their firſt Proteſtant ſettlement, by the ſynod of Dort, it is impoſſible to expreſs the popular odium, under which the diſciples of Arminius laboured, for having ſo wantonly and violently unhinged the public peace.—"All," ſays Monſieur Bayle from Curcellæus, "was in an uproar and confuſion; and in this conflict no man was more expoſed to the imprecations of the populace, than the moſt learned among the Arminians; becauſe they were looked upon as the firſt cauſe of theſe diſorders."—Vol. ii. p. 793.

(*l*) Their names follow: Leo, Wezek, Hollinger, Epiſcopius, Corvinus, Dwinglon, Poppius, Rijckwaert, Pynacker, Sapma, Goſwinius, Mathiſius, and Niellius.—Acta Syn. p. 18, 19.

Of all theſe, Epiſcopius was, by far, the ableſt and moſt learned. He and Grotius were the greateſt men the Arminians and Socinians ever had to boaſt of.

"Corvinus

"Corvinus came to Mr. Mayer, the profeſſor of Baſil, and told him, that he [viz. Corvinus] was drawn into theſe troubleſome courſes by others: and ſhewed ſome diſlike, as if he meant to withdraw himſelf from them [i. e. from the Arminian party, by whom he had been inveigled] (*m*)." The biſhop adds: "We hear, that the Jeſuits are much offended at the ſynod. It muſt be ſome great good, that offends them (*n*)." The Jeſuits, it muſt be confeſſed, had reaſon enough to be "offended" with the meeting of this glorious Proteſtant ſynod. But it makes very little for the credit of any profeſſed Proteſtants, to ſtumble at the ſame ſtone with the diſciples of Loyola.

Nothing could exceed the inſolence, the perverſeneſs, and the ſtudied chicanery, with which the Arminians, through the courſe of their appearance in the ſynod, exerciſed the humility and patience of the venerable aſſembly.

Had the Arminians been required to hold up their hands at the bar of that court, it had been no more than ſtrict juſtice would have authorized. But, inſtead of thus treating them with ignominy, the ſynod, with much candour, deſired them to ſit; for which purpoſe, a long table had been provided, ſurrounded with chairs and forms, in the middle of the ſynod-houſe (*o*). As ſoon as they were ſeated, the preſident politely informed them, that he had, at their requeſt, moved the ſynod to grant them longer time; but that the deputies of the States were pleaſed to order their appearance then, and that they ſhould have liberty to open their cauſe themſelves (*p*).

Epiſcopius, inſtead of reciprocating the civilities which himſelf and his party had received, roſe ſul-

(*m*) Biſhop Carleton's Letter from Dort to the archbiſhop of Canterbury.—Hales's Rem. 173. 175. See alſo, p. 53.
(*n*) Ibid. p. 175. (*o*) Mr. Hales's Letters to Sir D. Carlt. p. 29. (*p*) Ibid.

lenly from his chair, and gave the aſſembly to underſtand, that he and his aſſociates were come, *ad collationem inſtituendam*; i. e. not to appear as defendants, but to open a conference with the ſynod: and that they [the Arminians] were ready, even at that preſent, to begin the buſineſs they came for, without farther delay (*q*).

Polyander, the Leyden profeſſor, took occaſion to animadvert on the haughtineſs of the above ſpeech. "The Arminians" (ſaid that great man) "ought to know, that they were not ſent for, to hold a conference: nor does the ſynod ſit here as an adverſe party to them. Conferences have been held with them often enough, in time paſt: and all to no purpoſe. They ſhould recollect, that they were not now called hither to confer, but were cited to give in their opinions, with the reaſons by which thoſe opinions are ſupported. The ſynod ſit as judges, not as opponents, of the Arminians (*r*)."

To provoke the ſynod into rigorous meaſures, ſeems to have been the wiſh and deſign of the Arminian faction; that they might have ſome plauſible colour of complaint, and be able to ſpread an artificial miſt before the public eye: juſt as the cuttle-fiſh, when in danger of being taken, emits an inky fluid, to darken the water, and favour its own eſcape.—"You are incompetent judges," ſaid the Arminians to the ſynod: "You are ſchiſmatics, innovators, and cheriſhers of ſchiſm. Not you, but the civil magiſtrate, have a right to adjuſt our controverſies (*s*)."

Could any thing be more inſolent, more ſcurrilous, and more untrue? Here is an handful of novel ſchiſmatics, whoſe ſeparation from the reformed churches had began but about fourteen or fifteen years before, charging the reformed churches themſelves with ſchiſm and innovation! Ravaillac, who

(*q*) Ibid. (*r*) Ibid. p. 30, (*s*) Ibid. p. 37, 38.

murdered

murdered Henry the fourth of France, might with equal reaſon, modeſty, and truth, have laboured to transfer the name of Aſſaſſin from himſelf to Henry.

But what reply did the preſident, as mouth of the ſynod, return, to the audacious, indecent, and falſe invectives of the Arminians? He anſwered, with all the dignity and gentleneſs which might be expected from ſo great a man. "When it ſhall be made plain to the ſynod," ſaid he, "what the received doctrine of the Church has been; then will it appear, who they are that have receded from her doctrine, and on which of the two parties the guilt of ſchiſm is juſtly chargeable. If you except againſt us members of this aſſembly, merely becauſe our religious ſentiments are different from your own, by what tribunal would you wiſh to be tried? By yourſelves? or by the Papiſts? or by the Anabaptiſts? or by the libertines? or by ſome other faction in theſe countries? Even ſuppoſing we actually were the ſchiſmatics you have ſtiled us; yea, were we Scribes and Phariſees, or worſe than they; yet would the preſent ſynod, as ſuch, be a lawful court. For, it is called and empowered by the civil government, whoſe authority cannot be queſtioned. It is compoſed of delegates and repreſentatives, regularly choſen and deputed. Every individual has alſo taken a ſolemn oath, to decide according to juſtice. If all this will not ſuffice to render us competent judges, what can (*t*)?" The Arminians had nothing to offer, in oppoſition to preſident Bojermann's cool and ſolid reaſonings, but ſaucy cavils and vain janglings.

The learned Mr. John Hales very juſtly wonders at the ſhameleſs indecency of Epiſcopius and his comrades: "It was much, that they ſhould grow to that boldneſs, as that, openly, they ſhould call the

(*t*) See Ibid. p. 38.

ſynod, the ſeculars, the chief magiſtrates, yea the prince of Orange himſelf, ſchiſmatics (*u*)." But the Dutch Arminians had not yet learned the profitable leſſon of abſolute obedience to the civil power. Their brethren in England were wiſer; and, almoſt as ſoon as they aroſe, began to profeſs an unbounded ſubjection to the will of the chief magiſtrate. This it was, that ſaved them from James's iron hand, and even lifted them into favour. 'Twas by this claſper, that the tendrils of Arminian novelty twined round the royal leg of James; and, afterwards, under Charles the Firſt, flouriſhed as a green bay-tree in the court of the king's houſe.

After the ſynod of Dort had long borne with the groſſeſt inſults at the hands of the Arminians, it was agreed, that the ſaid Arminians ſhould be admoniſhed to behave, for the future, with more decency and reſpect. At the ſame time, a decree of the States was read to thoſe ſectariſts: importing, that whereas the Arminians had made many dilatory anſwers to the injury [i. e. to the hinderance] both of the eccleſiaſtics and ſeculars; it was decreed by them [i. e. by the States], that they [the Arminians] ſhould lay aſide all frivolous exceptions and dilatory anſwers, and forthwith proceed to ſet down their mind concerning the five articles, for which end they were come together (*x*).

Epiſcopius now began to draw in his horns, and pretend to ſome degree of veneration for the States. "In the imputation of ſchiſm," ſaid he," we include not the ſeculars, but the eccleſiaſtics only." Ridiculous! As if the eccleſiaſtics and the ſeculars were not of one mind, and embarked in the ſame cauſe!

The preſident then urged the Arminians to give an anſwer, whether or no they would ſet down their minds concerning the points in controverſy. But they

(*u*) Ibid. p. 39. (*x*) Hales, Ibid. p. 39.

ſtill

ſtill flew from the point: alledging, as before, that "the ſynod were not their competent judges." The preſident aſked, by whom then are you willing to be judged? They inſolently replied, "That's a queſtion which we will not anſwer: ſuffice it, that we except againſt this ſynod." Remember ſaid the ſecular preſident, that you are ſubjects, and ought to ſhew decent reſpect to the laws of your country. "The magiſtrates," anſwered the Arminians, "have no authority over our conſciences (*y*)." True. But this was not the article in queſtion. The magiſtracy did not pretend to preſcribe to the Arminians what they ſhould believe; but only claimed a right to know, from their own mouths, what they did believe. They were called thither by the State, not to have a creed obtruded upon them, but *ut ſententiam ſuam dilucidè & perſpicuè exponerent & defenderent*: i. e. in order to give them an opportunity of fairly and clearly propoſing and defending their own doctrinal principles (*z*). What ſhadow of magiſterial, or of eccleſiaſtical tyranny, was there in this?

Still the Arminians refuſed to give any account of their own poſitive tenets. They would not ſo much as carry on the conference they had pretended to deſire, unleſs they might be permitted to begin with an attack on the doctrine of reprobation (*a*): to which the ſynod objected. Reprobation, or preterition, is but a negative conſequence of election. Election, therefore, ought, as firſt in order of nature, to be firſt conſidered: for, how abſurd would it be, to diſcuſs the naked concluſion, without antecedently canvaſſing the premiſſes! So that, in propoſing ſuch a wild and illogical method of procedure, the Arminians at the ſynod of Dort acted neither as men of peace, nor as men of honeſty, nor as men of

(*y*) Ibid. p. 39, 40.—Alſo, Acta Synodi; à p. 89. ad p. 92. where the whole of that afternoon's debate is much more largely and more accurately related, than in the Engliſh letters.

(*z*) Hales, Ibid. p. 41; (*a*) Hales, Ibid. p. 56.

ſenſe.

ſenſe. They pretended, indeed, that it was "a matter of conſcience with them, to put reprobation foremoſt." But, as the ſynod very reaſonably obſerved, "The pretext of conſcience was idle and abſurd. Conſcience is converſant with matters of faith and practice. But how can conſcience be intereſted in what relates ſimply to the mere order and arrangement of a diſputation? as, whether preterition, or election, ſhould be handled firſt."

Great complaint had been made, by the Arminians, againſt the Palatine catechiſm and confeſſion. A paper, containing their objections, was delivered to the ſynod. Hear Mr. Hales's remarks on that frivolous paper, ſo far as related to the confeſſion. "Theſe conſiderations are nothing elſe but queries, upon ſome paſſages of the [Palatine] confeſſion, of little or no moment. So that it ſeems a wonder unto many, how theſe men [i. e. the Arminians] who, for ſo many years paſt, in ſo many of their books, have threatened the churches with ſuch wonderful diſcoveries of falſehood and error in their confeſſion and catechiſm, ſhould at laſt produce ſuch poor impertinent ſtuff. There is not, I perſuade myſelf, any writing in the world, againſt which, wits, diſpoſed to wrangle, cannot take abundance of ſuch exceptions (*b*)."

The affair of reprobation was again, with equal art and inſolence, reſumed by the Arminians. Nothing would content them, but making reprobation take the lead of election: and the ſtale plea of "conſcience" was repeatedly urged. "As for conſcience," replied the ſynod, "the word of God is the rule of it. Only prove from Scripture, that God has preſcribed the mode of diſputation you contend for; we'll immediately admit that mode to be a matter of conſcience, and allow you to proceed in your own way (*c*)." Mr. Hales very juſtly remarks,

(*b*) Ibid. p. 55. (*c*) Hales, Ibid. p. 50.

that,

that, by thus ſtiffly urging their [pretence of] conſcience, the Arminians did exceedingly wrong the decree of the States and ſynod, as if by them ſomething againſt the word of God, ſome impiety, were commanded (*d*): Whereas, in reality, the command was only, that firſtly ſhould go before ſecondly; that the chain of diſquiſition ſhould commence, at the right link; and that every point of enquiry ſhould proceed regularly, and in its own natural order.—"No," rejoined Epiſcopius in the name of his Arminian brethren: "unleſs we be at abſolute liberty to purſue what method of argumentation we pleaſe, and to begin with whatever article we ourſelves chuſe, we will not move a ſtep. For, we are reſolved, *agere pro judicio noſtro, non pro judicio ſynodi*; to act according to our own pleaſure, and not according to the pleaſure of the ſynod (*e*)." You ſtand, replied the ſynodical preſident, in the preſence of God, and in the preſence of your lawful magiſtrates. 'Tis, moreover, a cauſe wherein the church of Chriſt is concerned: the peace of which church, ſuch behaviour as your's is by no means calculated to promote.—"My conſcience will not let me act otherwiſe," anſwered Epiſcopius. Which impertinent allegation the preſident, with much dignity of patience and ſtrength of reaſon, repelled as before: *Adde verbum Dei*, ſhew us upon what text of Scripture your conſcience is grounded; otherwiſe, you wrong both the magiſtrates and the ſynod (*f*). But Epiſcopius and his brethren had no ſuch paſſage of Scripture to produce.

What could the ſynod do? The Arminians would not diſpute, unleſs they might be permitted to diſ-

(*d*) Ibid. (*e*) Ibid. p. 60.

(*f*) On obſerving the obſtinacy, with which the Arminians inſiſted upon opening the trenches againſt reprobation, antecedently to election; the learned Lydius took occaſion to remind the ſynod, that "It was the uſual practice of thoſe who favoured Pelagianiſm, to begin with kicking up a duſt againſt reprobation." Nothing can be more true,

pute

pute backward, as a crab walks: i. e. unleſs they were allowed to turn all due method up-ſide down, and to obtrude their own perverſe and unheard of rules on the ſynod.——Neither would they give a fair and direct anſwer to ſuch queſtions as the ſynod ſhould put to them.—In a word, ſo refractory and untractable were theſe new ſectariſts, that they would neither ſit (*g*) in the ſynod as members of it; nor yet appear before it, in quality of (what they indeed were by all the legal authority of the civil power) a cited party.

(*g*) Though the Dutch Arminians, both as a political and as a ſchiſmatical ſect, were extremely obnoxious to the laws of their country, and very criminal enemies to its civil and religious conſtitution; yet, by an almoſt unparalleled exceſs of candour and moderation, the ſynod of Dort actually permitted Epiſcopius and the other Arminian delegates from Utrecht, to take their ſeats in the ſynod, as members and judges: and, in the ſaid ſynod of Dort, the ſaid Arminian delegates might have continued to ſit, had they agreed to a few neceſſary and equitable conditions; viz. 1. If they would promiſe and engage, not to conſider themſelves as determined devotees to a party, but as candid inveſtigators of truth at large: 2. If they would neither aid, counſel, nor abet the other cited Arminians: Nor, 3. prematurely divulge the acts of the ſynod: Nor 4. delay it's proceedings by any needleſs or unſeaſonable interruptions. The Arminians rejected theſe reaſonable terms of alliance; and, in conſequence of this their haughtineſs, refractorineſs, and temerity, they themſelves as fairly vacated their own ſeats (See Hales, u. ſ. p. 34.), as ever James the Second vacated the throne of England.

On the whole, I am quite at a loſs to know, what a very capital writer intends, by the "proud cruelty" of the ſynod of Dort. (See The Confeſſional, p. 77). I can diſcern no glimpſe, either of cruelty or of pride, in any part of that ſynod's behaviour to the Arminians. But, in the behaviour of the Arminians to the ſynod, I can ſee pride, envy, malice, and uncharitableneſs, little ſhort of Luciferian. Nor did the Preſident at all exaggerate, when he told them at their final diſmiſſion from the aſſembly, ſinceritati, lenitati, manſuetudini ſynodi, fraudes, artes, mendacia oppoſuiſtis. He might have added, arrogantiam, et inurbanitatem. One of the Arminian miniſters, Sapma by name, crowned the inſolence of his party, with the following ſpeech, when he quitted the ſynod: Exeo, ſaid he, turning on his heel, ex eccleſiâ malignantium! i. e. "Thus depart I from the congregation of malignants!"——Hales, Ibid. p. 77.

Mr.

Mr. Hales, writing from Dort to Sir D. Carleton, who was then at the Hague, thus expreſſed himſelf, in relation to the contumacy and petulance of the Arminians: "The ſtate of our ſynod now ſuffers a great criſis; and, one way or other, there muſt be an alteration. Either the remonſtrant [i. e. the Arminian party] muſt yield, and ſubmit himſelf to the ſynod, of which I ſee no great probability; or elſe, the ſynod muſt vail to them: which to do [i. e. for the ſynod to accommodate itſelf to the perverſe humours of the Arminians], farther than it hath already done, I ſee not how it can ſtand with their honour [i. e. with the honour and dignity of the ſynod].——But the ſynod, bearing an inclination to peace, and wiſely conſidering the nature of their people, reſolved yet farther, tho' they had yielded ſufficiently unto them already, yet to try a little more, &c. (*b*)." The preſident recommended to the aſſembly, "To conſider, whether there might not be found ſome means of accommodation, which might mollify the remonſtrants [i. e. ſoften the obſtinacy of the Arminians], and yet ſtand well with the honour of the ſynod (*i*)." What could be more healingly and more meekly ſaid? But the Arminian fierceneſs was too harſh and ſtubborn to be moderated by any lenient meaſures. And, hitherto, none but ſoftening meaſures had been tried. For, thoſe decrees of the ſynod, extorted from the ſynod by dint of inſolence, and which carried any implication of ſeeming ſeverity, were, as Mr. Hales obſerves, "mere powder without ſhot, which gives a clap, but does no harm (*k*):" Inſomuch that, as the ſame unprejudiced writer adds, "Some thought the ſynod had been too favourable to the remonſtrants already; and that it were beſt now not to hold them, if they would be going: ſince hitherto, they [the remonſtrants, or Arminians] had been, and,

(*b*) Hales, u. ſ. p. 63. (*i*) Ibid. p. 64. (*k*) Ibid.

for

for any thing appeared to the contrary, meant hereafter to be, an hinderance to all peaceable and orderly proceedings (*l*)." And ſuch they moſt undoubtedly were in every reſpect, and on every occaſion.

As they perſiſted in a peremptory refuſal to give any account, either of their faith, or of the reaſons on which it was grounded; there remained but one thing for the ſynod to do: which was to convict them of error, from their own writings, which they themſelves had formerly publiſhed to the world (*m*). In the diſcuſſion of which Arminian writings, the following departments fell to the Britiſh divines, in conſequence of a plan previouſly ſettled among themſelves: "We have now," ſaid Dr. Balcanqual, "divided the buſineſs among us. Dr. Ward's part is, to refute the Arminian doctrine of a decree to ſave men, conſidered as believers. My lord of Landaff's part is, to anſwer and ſolve ſuch arguments, as the Arminians are wont to urge, in behalf of that general decree. Doctor (*n*) Goad's part is, to refute the Arminian tenet of election on faith foreſeen: and to prove, in oppoſition to it, that faith, is [not the cauſe, or condition, but] the fruit, and effect, of election. Doctor Davenant's part is, to vindicate the orthodox doctrine of election, from the objections alledged againſt it by the Arminians. My part is, to encounter all the arguments in general, which the Arminians bring, againſt the orthodox [i. e. againſt the Calviniſtic] ſcheme (*o*)."

The Arminian teachers were, in the end, depoſed from their miniſtry, by the ſynod; and the ſentence of depoſition was ratified by the States.—The divines from England, having firſt entered a proviſo in

(*l*) Ibid. (*m*) Ibid. p. 69 & 74.

(*n*) Doctor Hall having been forced to retire from Dort, on account of his ill ſtate of health, the king ſent over in his room, Dr. Thomas Goad, archbiſhop Abbot's chaplain.

(*o*) Dr. Balcanqual to Sir D. Carlton; Append. to Hales, u. ſ. p. 72, 73.

favour

favour of epiſcopacy, teſtified their entire conſent to the (*p*) Dutch confeſſion of faith, ſo far as matters of doctrine were concerned. Which teſtification of conſent was as ſtrong a proof as they could give, of their rooted attachment to the ſtricteſt principles of Calvin (*q*).

" On the 29th of April [1619], the ſynod ended. The States to expreſs their gratitude, beſtowed on the Engliſh divines, at their departure, two hundred pounds, to bear their charges in their return (*r*). Beſides a golden medal, of good value, was given to every one of them, whereon the ſitting of the ſynod was artificially repreſented.—And now theſe [five Britiſh] divines, who, for many months, had, in a manner, been faſtened to their chair and deſks, thought it a right due to themſelves, that, when their work was ended, they might begin their recreation. Wherefore they viewed the moſt eminent cities in the Low Countries; and, at all places, were bountifully received, Leyden (*s*) only excepted. —This

(*p*) Fuller's Church Hiſt. book x. p. 81.

(*q*) See the Dutch Confeſſion, at full length, in the Syntagma Confeſſionum, p. 163—185.

(*r*) That the biſhop and clergymen from England might be able, while in Holland, to ſupport a ſtile of living, ſuitable to the dignity of the church they repreſented, they were allowed by the States General, ten pounds ſterling per day. At the concluſion of their ſpiritual embaſſy, they received an additional preſent, as Fuller informs us above, of 2col. to defray their expences homeward. Mrs. Macaulay (a name ſuperior to all encomium) acquaints us, that each of them received that ſum, to his own reſpective ſhare; that they were jointly complimented with "an acknowledgment of the excellency of the conſtitution of the Church of England; and that the Dutch regreted the conveniency of their own State did not admit of the ſame ſyſtem of ſubordination."———Mrs. Macaulay's Hiſt. of Eng. vol. i. p. 117. Oct.

It ſeems, the apartment, in which the ſynod was held, and the ſeats, on which the members of it ſat, are, to this day, carefully preſerved at Dort, in ſtatu quo, and ſhewn to travellers.—See the Complete Syſt. of Geogr. vol. i. p. 573.

(*s*) The cold reception, which our divines, who had been ſo eminently active in the ſynod of Dort, met with, at Leyden, is eaſily accounted for. Arminius, Vorſtius, and Epiſcopius, had ſucceſſively

—This gave occaſion to that paſſage in the ſpeech of Sir Dudley Carlton, the Engliſh ambaſſador, when, in the name of his maſter, he tendered the States public thanks, for their great reſpects to the Engliſh divines; uſing words to this effect: That they had been entertained at Amſterdam, welcomed at the Hague, chearfully received at Rotterdam, kindly embraced at Utrecht, &c. and that they had ſeen Leyden (*t*)."

It muſt not be forgot, that the reformed Churches in France would very gladly have deputed a ſelect number of their body, to repreſent them at the ſynod at Dort, and to aſſiſt in the condemnation of Arminianiſm: but the French king, like a ſturdy Catholic, reſtrained them from this ſtep, by his peremptory prohibition. He could not, however, reſtrain the Proteſtant clergy of that kingdom from ſolemnly receiving and approving the deciſions of Dort, in a national ſynod, held at Alez, in 1619 (*u*).

On the return of our five divines to England, their firſt care was, to wait on king James. As they entered the Palace-court, his majeſty ſaw them from a window, and ſaid, with an emotion of ſenſible pleaſure, "Here come my good mourners:" they being in mourning for the queen, who had died during their abſence. "Then," adds Fuller, "after courteous entertaining them, he favourably diſmiſſed them; and, afterwards, on three of them beſtowed preferment: removing (*x*) Carleton [from the

ceſſively filled the divinity chair of that Univerſity: and as king James expreſſes it, had "infected" many of the academies "with hereſie."——But in a ſhort time after the ſynod was held, the "infection" ceaſed; and the Univerſity of Leyden, recovering, at once, it's orthodoxy and its credit, has ſince given both education and reſidence to as great men, as ever adorned the Republics of religion and learning. In the preſent age, indeed (referenti dolet), both learning and religion ſeem to be at a dead ſtand, in almoſt every part of Europe. (*t*) Fuller. n. f. 82. (*u*) Du Pin's Hiſt. of the Church, vol. iv. p. 253.——Edit. 1724. Duodecimo.——

(*x*) Biſhop Carleton was a prelate of very elevated parts, and of *very diſtinguiſhed* literature; and no man ever adhered more ſteadily

the biſhoprick of Landaff] to Chicheſter; prefering Davenant to [the ſee of] Saliſbury; and beſtowing the maſterſhip of the Savoy on Balcanqual. So returned they all, to their ſeveral profeſſions: biſhop Carleton, to the careful governing of his dioceſe: Dr. Davenant, beſides his collegiate cure, to his conſtant lectures in the [Univerſity-] Schools: Dr. Ward, to his diſcreet ordering of his own college: Dr. Goad, to his diligent diſcharging of domeſtical duties in the family of his lord and patron; and Mr. Balcanqual, to his fellowſhip in Pembroke-hall (*y*)."

Some pacific diſquiſitions, concerning the extent of redemption, having amicably and privately paſſed, among the Engliſh divines at Dort, ſeveral Arminian writers (equally diſpoſed to magnify a barley-

ſteadily to the doctrines of the Church of England. Let me briefly exemplify this latter feature of his character, by two very ſtriking proofs. 1. He could not endure the tenet of a redemption abſolutely univerſal: utterly denying it to be (they are his own words) "a truth of the Scripture, or the doctrine of the Church of England." For, as his lordſhip unanſwerably argued, whereſoever the grace of redemption goeth, there goeth alſo remiſſion of ſins:" ſo that, if we admit the grace of redemption "to be common to all," we muſt "admit alſo, that all men have remiſſion of ſins." See his Letters, annexed to Hales's Rem. p. 180.——2. Many years after, in the Arminian reign of Charles the Firſt, his lordſhip publiſhed, in direct oppoſition to the court ſyſtem, his valuable Defence of the pure Doctrines of the eſtabliſhed Church, againſt the high inſolencies and the low aſperſions of that learned, but profligate Pelagian theoriſt, Dr. Richard Montagu: whom the poſitive and miſguided Charles raiſed, ſoon after, to an epiſcopal chair, in open defiance of Church, of Parliament, and of every prudential and religious reſtraint.

Our good biſhop Carleton acquitted himſelf, at the ſynod of Dort, ſo much to king James's ſatisfaction, that he tranſlated him to Chicheſter, within about four months after his return. His next tranſlation was to Heaven, in 1628. On whoſe deceaſe, Dr. Montagu, abovementioned, became his unworthy ſucceſſor at Chicheſter; with ſuch an high hand of inſult did Arminianiſm, under Charles and Laud, begin to carry all before it!

Mr. Camden's atteſtation to Carleton's merit, deſerves to be noted: "I loved him," ſaid that learned antiquarian, "for his excellent proficiency in divinity and other polite parts of learning."——See Biogr. Dict. vol. iii. p. 68.

(*y*) Fuller, Ibid. p. 84.

corn, into a mountain, or reduce a mountain to a barley-corn, as convenient occaſion may require) have laboured to raiſe, on the narrow bottom of that ſlender incident, the following enormous pile of falſehood: viz. that the ſaid divines were for abſolutely unlimited redemption. But it ſo happens, that thoſe excellent divines, though dead, are yet able to ſpeak for themſelves. Conſult the records of the ſynod itſelf, and then judge. And for the mere Engliſh reader, the enſuing paſſage, from a letter, written at Dort, by the Britiſh divines themſelves, and ſent to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſubſcribed by the hands of them all; will at once demonſtrate, how infinitely diſtant our religious plenipotentaries were, from arminianizing in the article of redemption. That paſſage runs, *verbatim* thus: "Nor do we, with the remonſtrants, leave at large the benefit of our Saviour's death, as only propounded looſely to all, *ex æquo*, and to be applied by the arbitrary act of man's will; but we expreſsly avouch for the behoof of the elect, a ſpecial intention, both in Chriſt's offering, and God the Father accepting: and, from that intention, a particular application of that ſacrifice, by conferring faith, and other gifts, infallibly bring the elect to ſalvation (z)."

The tranſactions of the ſynod of Dort have given grievous offence, to more than one claſs of men.—

(z) Added to the end of Hales's Rem. p. 185.

The groſs ſlander, caſt, by certain writers, on the above divines, as though the latter were in Arminius's licentious ſcheme of indiſcriminate redemption; reminds me of a ſimilar falſehood, launched by Mr. Wat Sellon, to-wit, that archbiſhop Uſher, and biſhop Davenant, died Arminians. To this flat untruth I, at preſent, only oppoſe a flat denial; becauſe the ſaid Sellon does no more than nakedly affirm the premiſes, without cloathing his affirmation with a ſingle rag of proof. My ſimple negatur, therefore, uncloathed as it is, needs not be aſhamed. A naked no, is as good as a naked yes.——Let me add, however, that I am ready to cloath my ſide of the queſtion (though a negative) with proof, when called upon to produce it.

A late

A late reſpectable compiler, to whoſe literary endeavours the friends of civil and of religious liberty are under conſiderable obligation, raiſes two objections, in particular, againſt that renowned aſſembly. As I honour the memory, and value the labours, of the worthy objector, I ſhall weigh his remarks attentively, though with brevity.

(1.) We are told, that "Whoever calls to mind the deprivations, and baniſhment, which followed the deciſions of this ſynod, of ſuch great men as Epiſcopius, Utenbogart, Corvinus, &c. and the perſecution, which enſued, throughout the United Provinces, againſt the Arminians; will be apt to entertain but a poor opinion of thoſe men who were actors in it (*a*)." To clear this matter, let it be remembered, 1. That, if the deciſions of the ſynod were followed by any thing that reſembled a perſecution of the Arminians, ſuch ſeeming perſecution was the act, not of the ſynod, but of the civil power: and how were the members of that ſynod accountable for the conduct of the ſecular magiſtrate? eſpecially, for a conduct which did not take place, 'till long enough after the ſynod had ceaſed to ſit?—2. Even ſuppoſing (what I can by no means grant) that the ſynod actually did perſecute the Arminians; yet, certain it is, that the Arminians themſelves gave the firſt blow, and perſecuted the Dutch Proteſtants, long before the Dutch Proteſtants are feigned to have perſecuted the Arminians. And, though nothing can juſtify perſecution, even when it amounts to no more than a retaliation; ſtill it is but too natural for a perſecuted party (as the Dutch Calviniſts had undeniably been) to take the firſt opportunity of turning the tables on their oppreſſors.

(*a*) Dr. William Harris's Life of King James the Firſt, p. 127, 128.

When the Arminian faction, in Holland, began to gather ſtrength and come to an head; ſo fiercely intolerant was the bigotry, with which they eſpouſed their new ſyſtem, that they meditated, and in part accompliſhed, an abſolute ſuppreſſion of ſuch magiſtrates, miniſters, and even military officers, as diſcovered a reſolution to abide by the old doctrines of the reformation (*b*). Legal magiſtrates were riotouſly depoſed; legal paſtors were deprived by violence; and the orthodox even among the commonality were liable to loſs of property, loſs of perſonal liberty, and to every vexatious injury, which the new ſect were able to deviſe. So furiouſly did the Arminians drive, at firſt ſetting off; that, as far as their power extended, not a Calviniſtic miniſter was ſuffered to exerciſe his function. All freedom of conſcience was denied: nothing would content the drivers, but a total extinction of the reformed intereſt, and that Arminianiſm ſhould reign without a partner and without limitation. Sedition, tumult, rapine, impriſonment, and baniſhment, were the gentle inſtruments, made uſe of by the Arminians, to eſtabliſh their pretended theory of univerſal love!

All this happened a conſiderable time before the ſynod of Dort aſſembled: and was, in reality, one reaſon why that ſynod was convened. Complaints, therefore, of perſecution, would have come with an exceeding ill grace from the mouths of the Arminian faction, if the ſynod had even meted to them the ſame meaſure which themſelves had ſo liberally dealt to their innocent neighbours. But I muſt add, 3. that the Arminians were not perſecuted in return, ſo far as I have been able to find. Puniſhed, in ſome degree, they were: but puniſhment and perſecution are eſſentially different. Social enormity

(*b*) See Wilſon's Hiſt. of James I.——Complete Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 715. 718.——Alſo, Hickman againſt Heylyn, p. 101, 102.

juſtly

juſtly expoſes an offender to the former: though no religious errors, how great and many ſoever, can juſtly ſubject a perſon to the latter. Shall the twelve judges of England be ſtiled twelve perſecutors, becauſe they vindicate the majeſty of law againſt its tranſgreſſors? Shall legal proſecution, and legal puniſhment, be denominated perſecution, where the offence is of a ſecular nature, and adequate in degree to the inflicted penalty? Weigh the political vices of the firſt Arminians; and then pronounce them perſecuted if you can. Nor muſt I omit to obſerve, 4. on the credit of a very candid and capable writer, that, notwithſtanding the due indignation of the Dutch States againſt the ſocial crimes of the primitive Arminians; the ſaid States, highly calviniſtic as they were, conſented that "the mere Arminian," who did not connect turbulence and ſedition with religious miſtakes, ſhould be "continued and cheriſhed in the boſom of the Church (*c*)." The ſame learned and accurate author adds, that Epiſcopius himſelf, even that very Epiſcopius who had flown in the face of the ſynod and of his country, was hardly diſplaced from his Leyden profeſſorſhip, before he was permitted, "both at Rotterdam and Amſterdam, to enjoy an honourable and gainful preferment (*c*)." With ſuch exemplary moderation did the Dutch Calviniſts uſe the victory which God had given them!

(2.) Dr. Harris's other complaint is, that "The kings, princes, and great men concerned [in the ſynod of Dort], had, undoubtedly, worldly views, and were actuated by them: for though purity of doctrine, peace of the Church, extirpation of hereſy, were pretended; the State-faction of the Arminians was to be ſuppreſſed, and that of Maurice, prince of Orange, exalted (*d*)." I am glad, that the im-

(*c*) Hickman, u. ſ. p. 114. (*c*) Ibid. p. 115. (*d*) Life of James, p. 128.

partiality of this reſpectable writer induced him to term thoſe Arminians a "State", i. e. a ſecular or political faction: for ſuch they were. And, if ſo, why might not political perſons, legally inveſted with juſt authority, ſeek to tie up the hands of a pernicious political faction from doing any farther political miſchief? Be it ſo, then, that prince Maurice had his "worldly views" in filing down the tuſks of ſome reſtleſs Arminians. The preſervation of the United Provinces from relapſing under the yoke of Spain was, indeed, a "worldly view," but a very lawful and a very expedient one. Antecedently to the aſſembling of the ſynod, Providence had ſo ordered events, that the intereſts of pure religion and of public policy were happily twiſted together. Hence reſulted the Dordrechtan 'alliance between Church and State.' A conſequence whereof was, that two birds of prey were diſabled, at one ſhot: viz. doctrinal error, and civil ſedition. Nor unreaſonably: for, the poiſon being compound, why ſhould the antidote be ſingle?

Sir Richard Baker, though a very high-principled hiſtorian, mentions the ſynod of Dort, in terms of remarkable moderation and reſpect. It was aſſembled, ſays he, "to examine and determine the doctrine of Arminius, 1. Concerning God's predeſtination, election, and reprobation: 2. Concerning Chriſt's death, and man's redemption by it: 3. Concerning man's corruption, and converſion to God: 4. Concerning the perſeverance of the ſaints. In all which points, the doctrine of Arminius was rejected, as alſo of Vorſtius; and the true doctrine eſtabliſhed by a general conſent, together with the approbation of the Lords and States. Which yet the Papiſts made ſo little reckoning of, that one of them, in ſcorn, made echo to cenſure it [i. e. to cenſure the ſynod] in this diſtich;

"*Dordraci Synodus? Nodus. Chorus integer? Æger,*
"*Conventus? Ventus. Seſſio Stramen? Amen.*

But

But who knows not, that ill-will never ſpeaks well? and that nothing is ſo obvious, in the mouth of an adverſary, as ſcandals and invectives (*e*)?" Let this be a word in ſeaſon, to Mr. Weſley and his man Watty: and reſtrain them, in time to come, from ſinging in chorus with "the Papiſts," by traducing the ſynod of Dort.

Thus have we traced king James's doctrinal perſeverance in orthodoxy, down to the year 1619, incluſively: and the Church kept pace with his majeſty. His having intereſted himſelf, ſo zealouſly, in the condemnation of Arminianiſm, ſtruck the ſecret favourers of that ſyſtem, in England, with a temporary ſtupor. Even Laud was forced to lie ſtill, and to roll his principles, in private, as a ſweet morſel, under his tongue; until a more favourable day ſhould invite them to walk abroad with ſafety. James was always very ſuſpicious of Laud's orthodoxy: and the reluctance, with which he lifted him to epiſcopal rank, ſupplies us with another very ſtrong proof of the monarch's Calviniſm.

The authorized Bibles, during the firſt nine years of James's reign, were thoſe of queen Elizabeth; enriched with ſuch marginal annotations, as we have produced ſufficient ſamples of, in the preceding Section. James deſired to ſignalize his own reign, by a tranſlation more exactly conformable to the original languages of the Old and New Teſtaments. In 1611, that tranſlation (uſed at this day) was finiſhed by the excellent divines, to whoſe care this great work had been aſſigned, and who had ſpent about three years in the important employ. Inſtead of human annotations, the margin of this verſion is very properly filled with references to parallel Scriptures: ſo that the Bible is now a commentary on itſelf. If it be aſked, 'Whether the ancient notes were omitted, with a ſimple view to render the Scrip-

(*e*) Baker's Chronicle, p. 419.

ture it's own interpreter?' I muſt confeſs, that this is a queſtion which I can anſwer by conjecture alone. And my conjecture is, that James's ſuſpicious policy was afraid to entruſt even the biſhops and clergymen of the Church of England, concerned in this tranſlation, with the inſertion of any marginal notes at all; leſt ſome remark or other might ſlip in, tending to emblazon the wickedneſs and abſurdity of deſpotic power. He was a better textuary, than to be ignorant, that there are a multitude of paſſages, and of inſtances, in the inſpired volume, which grind the doctrine of non-reſiſtance to powder, and diſperſe its atoms in empty air. Better, therefore, in James's opinion, to forego all explications whatever, than to run the riſque of rendering thoſe unfavourable paſſages more viſible than they render themſelves. This I (*e*) conceive to have been the true cauſe of the ſimplicity, by which our preſent verſion is diſtinguiſhed.——As to the Calviniſtic doctrines, there is no need, nor was there any need from the firſt, of erecting marginal banners, to diſ-

(*e*) Since the above was written, I recollected to have formerly met with ſomething, in the account of the Hampton-court conference, relative to the omiſſion of marginal notes from the preſent tranſlation of the Bible. On recurring to that account, I find myſelf warranted to aſſign the reaſon already hinted, not as a conjecture of my own, but as the true and undoubted cauſe of the ſaid omiſſion. Biſhop Barlow informs us, that the king complained, he had never yet ſeen a Bible "well tranſlated in Engliſh: but the worſt of all, his majeſty thought the Geneva Bible to be," for a reaſon which quickly follows. The Royal Plaintiff then expreſſed his intention of having a new tranſlation undertaken: "and this to bee done by the beſt learned in both the Univerſities; after them, to be reviewed by the biſhops, and the chiefe learned of the Church; from them, to be preſented to the privie counſel; and, laſtly, to be ratified by his royall authority; and ſo this whole Church to bee bound unto it and none other. Marrie, withal, hee gave this caveat (upon a word caſt out by my lord of London), that no marginal notes ſhould be added: having found, in them which are annexed to the Geneva tranſlation, which hee ſaw in a Bible given him by an Engliſh lady, ſome notes, very partially untrue, ſeditious, and ſavouring too much of dangerous and traiterous conceits. As for example: Exod. i. 19. where the marginall note alloweth diſobedience unto kings."—— *Biſhop Barlow's* Summe of the Conf. p. 47, 48.

tinguiſh

tinguiſh in what places of Scripture they are to be found. What I obſerved, ſeveral years ago, concerning the liturgy; I now obſerve, concerning the Bible: open God's word where you will, Calviniſm ſtares you in the face.

In the year 1621, the Engliſh Arminians began to recover from the panic, into which they had been thrown, two years before, by the proceedings at Dort. The king's enormous (*f*) conceſſions to the Church of Rome, in order to facilitate the concluſion of the Spaniſh match, gave new life to the Popiſh party, who had the comfort to ſee themſelves objects of court indulgence, their religion openly protected, and their impriſoned prieſts enlarged.

Where is the wonder, that Arminianiſm alſo, taking advantage of a juncture ſo favourable, ſhould rear its head, unſeal its eyes, and venture into open day? ——"The king's mercy and indulgence extending towards the Papiſts, taught many men to come as near Popery as they could ſtretch; finding it the next way to preferment. So that Arminius's tenets flew up and down, from pulpit to pulpit, and preaching was nothing but declamation, little tending to edification; ſuch orthodox miniſters, as ſtrove to refute theſe erroneous opinions, being looked upon as Puritans and anti-monarchial (*g*)." To crown the infelicities of this memorable year 1621, Dr. Laud found means (tho' not without much difficulty and many hard ſtruggles) to climb, from the deanry of Glouceſter, to the biſhopric of St. David's. He

(*f*) "It has ever been my way," ſaid James, "to go with the Church of Rome, *uſque ad aras*:" i. e. to ſymbolize with that Church, in matters of doctrine, diſcipline, and worſhip, as far as prudence would permit, and policy might require.——(See the Complete Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 767.) Indeed, the papal ſupremacy over kings themſelves, and the lawfulneſs of king-killing, ſeem to have been the only Popiſh doctrines which he conſidered as indigeſtible.

(*g*) Wilſon, in Compl. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 751, 752.

was conſecrated to that ſee, November (*b*) 18. A dark day, in the annals of the Church of England.

It was not without reaſon, that even the impolitic and undiſcerning James prognoſticated the bad effects, which would probably enſue from Laud's promotion. That incident drew after it a train of conſequences, which ſadly warranted the juſtneſs of his majeſty's miſgivings: and reſulted in a complication of cataſtrophes, too ruinous and fatal, for a much wiſer prince to have foreſeen. In fact, Laud owed his biſhopric, not to the king, but to the duke of Buckingham: into the good graces of whom, the Arminian eccleſiaſtic had inſinuated himſelf, with extreme labour and art, and by a long ſeries of ſervile and obſequious adulation. What I, in this place, can but barely intimate, ſhall appear, with ſufficient extent, if Providence give me health and leiſure to complete my intended Hiſtory of Archbiſhop Laud's Life and Times.

This prelate had not worn lawn ſleeves much longer than eight months, before he became inſtrumental in procuring, and in drawing up, a well-known court paper, entitled, Directions concerning Preachers. The third article of theſe directions enjoined, "That no preacher, of what title ſoever, under the degree of a biſhop, or dean, at the leaſt, do, from henceforth, preſume to preach, in any popular auditory, the deep points of predeſtination, election, reprobation; or the univerſality, efficacy, reſiſtibility, or irreſiſtibility, of God's grace; but leave thoſe themes rather to be handled by the learned men [in the two Univerſities]: and that moderately and modeſtly, by way of uſe and application, rather than by way of poſitive doctrines; being fitter for the ſchools, than for ſimple auditories (*i*)." This was the firſt blow, given by royal

(*b*) Godw. De Præſ. Angl. p. 587.
(*i*) See Wilſon, Fuller, Heylyn (Life of Laud), &c. ſub. 1622.

authority,

authority, to the doctrinal Calviniſm of the eſtabliſhed Church, ſince the death of Mary the bloody. For, tho' it *primâ facie*, ſeemed to muzzle the Arminians, no leſs than the Calviniſtic clergy; yet its deſign was, to bridle the latter, and leave the former at liberty to ſpread their new principles without reſtraint.—The above paper of directions was dated from Windſor, 4 Auguſt, 1622.

Let not the reader, however, ſuppoſe, that the king took this extraordinary ſtride, out of mere complaiſance to Laud. That inſidious prelate, in promoting and in helping to frame the ſaid directions, only ſtruck in with the opportunity, and availed himſelf of certain political circumſtances, which had, previouſly, ſoured and embarraſſed the mind of James.

The caſe ſtood thus. His majeſty, in order to ſtrengthen his unnatural and ill-judged union with Spain, was (*k*) projecting a general toleration of Popery throughout the Britiſh dominions. So far is

(*k*) This latent intention of giving a free and full toleration to Popery, appears, from the ſubſequent tranſactions of the next year, viz. 1623, when the following articles were agreed to by James, in the Spaniſh treaty: namely, That no laws, repugnant to the Roman Catholic religion, ſhould, at any time hereafter, directly, or indirectly, be commanded to be put in execution: that the king ſhould ſwear to this, and that the privy council ſhould take the ſame oath: That the king and the prince of Wales ſhould interpoſe their authority, and do all that in them lay, to make the parliament revoke and abrogate all laws, both general and particular, which had been enacted againſt Roman Catholics; and, that neither the king, nor the prince of Wales when king, ſhould ever, at any time, conſent to the paſſing of any new laws to the prejudice of the Catholics. The oath of each privy counſellor ran in theſe words:

I, A. B. do ſwear, that I will truly and fully obſerve, as much as belongeth to me, all and every of the articles which are contained in the treaty of marriage between the moſt gracious Charles, prince of Wales, and the moſt gracious lady, Donna Maria, Infanta of Spain. Likewiſe, I ſwear, that I will neither commit to execution, or cauſe to be executed, either by myſelf, or by any inferior officer ſerving under me, any law made againſt any Roman Catholic whatſoever, nor will execute any puniſhment inflicted by thoſe laws, &c.—— See Mrs. Macaulay's Hiſt. vol. i. p. 202, 203.

certain.

certain. And, perhaps, we ſhould not overſhoot the mark, were we to ſuſpect, that ſomething more, than a mere toleration, was remotely in view.

When two houſes are to be thrown into one, you muſt down with the partition wall. The Calviniſtic doctrines of the Church of England were conſidered as the interpoſing barrier between her and Popery. Tho' the king was attached to thoſe doctrines, in his heart; yet, as they ſtood in the way of his political ſchemes, he lent his authority to certain Arminian engineers, who loſt no time in beginning (not to aſſault and batter, but) to undermine and ſap the ſaid wall.

Add to this, that, when James conſented to publiſh the above Directions concerning Preachers, his mind was chafed and nettled, by a recent quarrel with the parliament. He had flattered himſelf, for ſome time, that his deſigns in favour of Popery were formed with ſuch ſecrecy, as to elude the vigilance of the houſe of commons. But he perceived his miſtake, when word was brought him, that thoſe wiſe and zealous guardians of the church and nation had prepared a very ſtrong remonſtrance againſt Popery, and againſt the illegal encouragement already ſhewn to Papiſts. He was ſtung to the quick, at receiving this intelligence; and prohibited the houſe from preſenting him with an addreſs ſo peculiarly unacceptable: giving them to underſtand, that theſe were "matters above their reach and capacity;" and tended to his "high diſhonour, and breach of his prerogative royal (*l*)." What had chiefly offended him in the remonſtrance (of which he had procured a copy), was, the patriotic wiſh, expreſſed by the national repreſentatives, that his majeſty would break with Spain, and marry his ſon to a Proteſtant princeſs. Several altercations paſſed between his majeſty and the commons. The latter, who had ſagacity to diſcern, and integrity to purſue, the real good

(*l*) See Wilſon.

of

of the public, conducted themſelves with a reſpectful decency toward the king, yet with an unrelaxing adherence to the cauſe of their country. James did not maintain his ſhare in the debate, with any degree of prudence. He inculcated maxims of deſpotiſm, unheard of, 'till broached by himſelf; and, to ſave thoſe maxims from being canvaſſed by the parliament, he diſſolved it, by proclamation, in January, 1622 (*m*).

It muſt be obſerved, that the members of the lower houſe in that parliament, were Calviniſts in matters of doctrine, as well as friends to the true intereſt of the ſtate. Never was a nation more faithfully repreſented, than by that uncorrupt body of ſenators. The pulſe of all the honeſt Proteſtants in England beat in harmony with that of the parliament. James was appriſed of this, and dreaded the effect. Laud and others, who were on the watch for a trade-wind, immediately hoiſted ſail, and took advantage of the ill humour into which the king's affairs had thrown him. 'Twas not very difficult to perſuade ſuch a monarch as James, that the parliament, the clergy, and the majority of the people, were puritanic, becauſe they hated Popery; and diſaffected to the crown, becauſe they hated tyranny: that, at once, to wean them from their abhorrence of Rome, and break them into the trammels of abſolute ſubjection to the throne, Calviniſm muſt be diſcountenanced, and Arminianiſm encouraged.—James liſtened, liked, and acted accordingly.—— Thus it appears, that the "Directions concerning Preachers" were begot on James by motives of miſtaken ſecular policy, ariſing from the Spaniſh alliance, and from the intended Popiſh toleration. The juſt oppoſition, which the parliament

(*m*) The papers and meſſages, which paſſed between the king and parliament, prior to his timid and angry diſſolution of the latter, deſerves the peruſal of every Engliſhman. See them laid together in the Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. v. p. 487—525.

and

and nation raiſed againſt his majeſty's dangerous deſigns, brought the ſaid "directions" to the birth: and Dr. Laud, aided by his college of aſſociates, was glad to act as principal midwife and nurſe, on the occaſion.

Here the matter reſted, during the remainder of James's reign. For I muſt do him the juſtice to obſerve, that the Preaching Directions were the firſt, and the only, public ſtep, taken by that prince, to the profeſſed detriment of the religion eſtabliſhed in England, if we except his negotiations with Spain and France, and his tenderneſs for Papiſts.—It does not appear, that the Proteſtant preachers paid much regard to the king's "directions," by excluding the doctrine of predeſtination from the ſpiritual proviſion with which they nouriſhed their flocks. In the enſuing reign of Charles the Firſt, when Laud attained to the zenith of eccleſiaſtical power, thoſe Directions (ſomewhat amplified, and improved into a proclamation) were enforced with rigour; even to the bringing of the great and good biſhop Davenant on his knees before the privy council.—But tho', while James lived, ſcarce any ſeverity ſeems to have ſeconded the injunction, by which he impoſed ſilence on his divines concerning ſome of the Calvinian articles; yet, his publication of that order tended, more than a little, to ſink him in the public eſteem. For, how did ſuch a meaſure comport with his late profeſſions of zeal againſt Arminianiſm? It was no farther back than the winter of 1617, that he had reproved ſome of the Cambridge doctors, for permitting the Arminian leaven to gain ground in that Univerſity (*n*). It was but in January, 1619, that his majeſty flew into a violent paſſion, at reading ſome Arminian poſitions of Epiſcopius, ſent

(*n*) "November 10. The king chides the doctors of Cambridge, about the ſpreading of the Arminian ſect amongſt the ſtudents."—Camden's Annals of K. James, ſub. 1617.

over

over hither from Dort (*o*). And, after bearing ſo eminent a part in the condemnation of Arminianiſm, by the ſynod there aſſembled; his "directions," of 1622, can be imputed only to a low, abſurd, and miſguided policy, which reflected equal diſhonour on his civil and religious character.

While he lived, Calviniſm ſtill ſupported itſelf in the ſaddle; and Arminianiſm, unable to keep its legs, could ſcarcely creep on its hands and knees. Within a few months of his majeſty's deceaſe, his zeal and vigilance againſt the encroachments of Arminianiſm extorted thanks from the eminently learned and profoundly loyal Dr. John Prideaux, then vice-chancellor of Oxford, and afterwards biſhop of Worceſter: whoſe elegant oration to the king, at Woodſtock, on the 24th of Auguſt, 1624, is ſtill extant, and has paſſages to the following effect. "Do we rejoice, that the Univerſity of Oxford is preſerved, untainted, from the leaven of Popery? We are indebted, for that preſervation, to your majeſty's prudential care. Do we congratulate ourſelves, that our ſeats remain uninfected by the Arminian peſtilence? 'twas your fore-caſt, which ſupplied us with the timely antidote. Are the diſcipline of the Church, the good order of our colleges, and the epiſcopal government itſelf, preſerved from the levelling and confounding innovations of Puritaniſm? 'tis your royal and experienced wiſdom, which has damped the rage of Puritans, and reſtrained them with the bridle they deſerve. Yes: to you we owe, that Popery hangs its head; that Arminianiſm is repreſſed; and that Puritaniſm does not lay waſte our borders.——Within the laſt nine years, Oxford has ſent forth ſeventy-three Doctors in divinity, and more than one hundred and eighty Batchelors in the

(*o*) "He [the archbiſhop of Canterbury] ſent me word, that the king had the Epiſcopii Theſes which I ſent, and that he was mightily incenſed at them."——Dr. Balcanqual to Sir D. C. apud Hales's Rem. p. 72.

ſam:

ſame ſacred ſcience. I, as your majeſty's divinity-profeſſor, had the honour to be concerned, in the conferring of thoſe degrees. And I can confidently affirm, that all thoſe two hundred and fifty three divines and more, are warm deteſters of Popery, remote from favouring Arminianiſm, and ſtrong diſapprovers of Puritaniſm (*p*)." Some needful allowance muſt be made, for the high ſtrains of complaiſance to his majeſty, wherewith the learned vice-chancellor thought meet to ſeaſon his addreſs. This great man (and he was a very great man indeed) knew, that James's palate muſt be tickled: and therefore, like an experienced college cook, he diſcreetly larded the oration to the monarch's taſte. But the facts, which Dr. Prideaux affirmed, and the concluſions, deducible from thoſe facts, are more than a little important to the argument now in hand.

Death cloſed the eyes of king James, on the 27th of March, 1625.—Guthrie has hit off his character, with much judgment and exactneſs: "He was," ſays that writer, "a king deſpicably great; a ſcholar impertinently learned; a politician unprofitably cunning; and a man immorally religious (*p*)."——

(*p*) "Gloriamur, academiam, inter tot adverſantium cuniculos, à Papiſmi fermento eſſe conſervatam? Conſervavit tua prudentia, gratulamur, Arminianiſmum noſtras cathedras non infeciſſe? Exhibuit tua providentia antidotum. Diſciplinam, academias, epiſcopatus, ſuſque deque raptaſſent jamdudum Puritaniſmi furores; niſi frigidum ſuffudiſſet, & injeciſſet frænum, feliciſſimo rerum uſu maturatum tuum judicium.——Quòd Papiſmus non invaluit, non prævaluit Arminianiſmus, non diſſipavit Puritaniſmus, tuæ prærogativæ eſt peculium.——Intrâ proximè elapſum novennium (obſtetricante, pro modulo meo, qualicunque, profeſſioris tui, conatu), ſeptuaginta tres emiſit [Acad. Oxon.] in S. Theologiâ Doctores; ut omittam ultra centum et octoginta ejuſdem facultatis Baccalaureos: quos confidenter dicam, non tantùm Papiſmum execrari, Arminianiſmum non fovere, Puritaniſmum explodere; ſed etiam, &c.

Vide Alloquium Sereniſſ. regi Jacobo; ad calcem viginti-duarum Lectionum in Theologiâ, à Joh. Prideaux, Exon. Coll. Rectore, & S. Theol. prof. regio, & Acad. Oxon. Vice-can.——Edit. Oxon. 1648.

(*p*) Guthrie's Hiſt. of Eng. vol. iii. p. 819.

Burnet

Burnet juſtly obſerves, that "No king could die leſs lamented, or leſs eſteemed. His reign in England was a continued courſe of mean practices. He was become the ſcorn of the age. And while hungry writers flattered him out of meaſure, at home, he was deſpiſed by all, abroad, as a pedant, without true judgment, courage, or ſteadineſs; ſubject to his favourites, and delivered up to the counſels, or rather the corruption, of Spain (*q*)."

He is ſaid to have been the firſt of our kings, who aſſumed the appellation of "Moſt ſacred majeſty." And certain it is, that he was the firſt of them, who, for his weakneſs, vanity, inconſtancy, and puſillanimity, obtained the nick-name of queen, both among foreigners, and among his own ſubjects. The terms "king Elizabeth," and "queen James," ſhew, to what an ebb of contempt the latter was reduced, when ſet in competition with his magnanimous predeceſſor.

In the language of ſycophants, the reigning king never fails to be the beſt that ever filled a throne. Such was James, while living, repreſented to be, by thoſe artful flatterers (and by thoſe only), whoſe intereſt led them to practice on his weakneſs, and to mould him to their own purpoſes. He was pronounced, "The Solomon of the age;" a "pithy and ſweet orator," whoſe "words were as apples of gold in pictures of ſilver:" yea, that "he ſpake by the inſtinct of the ſpirit of God." They declared him to be "ſuch a king, as, ſince Chriſt's time, the like had not been." His writings were ſtyled, "blazing ſtars, which men look upon with amazement;" and which were "fuller of excellent counſels, than a pomegranate is full of kernels." On ſome occaſions, his pen teemed with what are ſtill better than "kernels;" even with "pearls." He was "a divine:" he was "a natural philoſopher:" he was a

(*q*) Biſhop Burnet's Summary of Affairs, &c. p. 17.

non-pareil, both "for parts of nature, for gifts of learning, and graces of piety (*r*)."

But the cant-compliment of the time, which ſeems to have been moſt current and in vogue, and to have flowed from the tongue's end of every court lord who had a fortune to make or to mend, was, "Your majeſty is the breath of our noſtrils." 'Tis the *crampe repetita*, which occurs, again and again, in the court converſations of that reign.——No ſtrains of adulation were too fulſome, for James to reliſh; nor too groſs, for his digeſtion. He would even ſuck in blaſphemy itſelf, when the vehicle of his own panegyric. Witneſs that horrid profanation of Scripture, mentioned by Balzac (*s*). One of the Spaniſh ambaſſadors in England, receiving a viſit from the king, ſaluted his majeſty's entrance, with thoſe words of the centurion to Chriſt, Lord, I am not worthy that thou ſhouldeſt come under my roof. But what fumes of licentious flattery were ever known to diſguſt James's noſtrils? The ſtronger the incenſe, the ſweeter.

Had not this king's political depravity been counterbalanced by almoſt an equal portion of invincible timidity; either himſelf, or the nation, had infallibly been ruined: ſo that his conſtitutional cowardice, even while it renders him peculiarly deſpicable, muſt be conſidered as a very happy ingredient in his compoſition.——He laid, without doubt, the foundation of thoſe calamities which ſo ſadly diſtinguiſhed the reign of his ſon: and the ill effects of his tyrannical maxims and diſtempered politics operate even at this day. The ſtate parties, which ſtill continue to divide the intereſts and the affections of Engliſhmen, originated in his reign.—Sorry I am to add, that ſo deteſtable a prince, and ſo profligate a man,

(*r*) For all this rubbiſh, and for more of the ſame ſort, conſult biſhop Barlow's Account of the Conference at Hampton Court, and biſhop Mountague's Preface to James's Works.

(*s*) See Bayle, vol. i. p. 725.

died,

died, in all appearance, a ſpeculative Calviniſt. I wiſh Mr. Hickman had leſs reſpectable authority, than that of Dr. Featly, for aſſuring us, that "king James called the Arminians, heretics, not many weeks before his death (*t*)."

SECTION XX.

The Introduction of Arminianiſm *by Archbiſhop* Laud. *—Short Review of the* Calviniſm *of our* Biſhops *and* Univerſities, *antecedently to that Æra.—Objections anſwered:—And the Whole Concluded.*

KING Charles the Firſt aſcended the throne, at a very unfavourable time, and under circumſtances of peculiar diſadvantage; a conſideration, which ſhould never be forgot, amidſt the juſt cenſures wherewith impartial poſterity muſt always brand the calamitous maxims by which he ſteered.

To develope the intricate complication of untoward co-incidents, or the political ſituation of things, which marked the æra of Charles's acceſſion, does not fall within the province of my preſent undertaking. It ſhall, therefore, ſuffice, to obſerve, that had Laud poſſeſſed any degree of common prudence, the civil complection of the times would, alone, have taught him, how neceſſary it was for him to reſtrain his own reſtleſs ſpirit from raiſing a ſtorm in the Church, when the ſymptoms of approaching convulſion had already began to endanger the ſtate. But, on the death of James, the prelate, who had been kept in conſiderable awe by

(*t*) Hickman againſt Heylyn, p. ult.——Edit. 1674.

that prince, was over-joyed to find himſelf in a ſtate of perfect liberty under Charles, whoſe favour he had cultivated with ſucceſs, and into whoſe ear he continually diſtilled the moſt pernicious poiſon a prince can imbibe.

Indeed, Laud found no great difficulty in bringing the new monarch to his lure. He did but ſow in ground already ploughed to his hands. Charles was imperious, by nature; and tyrannic, by education. With the crown, he inherited all the arbitrary principles of his father. The plan of deſpotiſm, rudely ſketched by James, was hurried into an abſolute ſyſtem by Charles; who adopted it with more ſettled obſtinacy of determination, and purſued it with more daring boldneſs of execution.

If Heylyn may be credited, Laud had formed a deſign ſo far back as the (*u*) year 1600, of endeavouring to pervert the Church of England from her Calviniſtic doctrines. A very extraordinary object, for ſo raw a youth, as he, at that time, was! or, as Heylyn himſelf expreſſes it, "a deſperate attempt, for a ſingle man, unſeconded, and not well-befriended, to oppoſe himſelf againſt an army, to ſtrive againſt ſo ſtrong a ſtream, and croſs the current of the times!" He was then about twenty-five years of age; a young maſter of arts; no more than Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford; not many years emancipated from ſchool; in deacon's orders only; his finances very moderate; without any eccleſiaſtical preferment; and with hardly a friend in the Univerſity, to countenance him amidſt that torrent of general and public odium, which his haughty behaviour and his Papiſtical bias had drawn upon him from every ſide! for a man, under thoſe circumſtances, and in ſo early a part of life, to project a ſcheme of ſuch conſequence and difficulty, as the divorcing of the eſtabliſhed Church from her own

(*u*) Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 48.

eſſential

eſſential principles, exhibits an inſtance of wild ſelf-ſufficiency, and of audacious reſtleſſneſs, ſcarcely to be exceeded in the whole compaſs of hiſtory.

No wonder that a perſon, ſtimulated by this outrageous enthuſiaſm for innovation, drove ſo furiouſly when Charles intruſted him with the reins. Moſheim ſhall give us a conciſe view of the plan, adopted both by the ſovereign and the prelate.

"All the emotions of his [i. e. of king Charles's] zeal, and the whole tenor of his adminiſtration, were directed towards the three following objects:

"[1.] The extending the royal prerogative, and raiſing the power of the crown above the authority of the law.

"[2.] The reduction of all the churches in Great Britain and Ireland, under the juriſdiction of biſhops.

"[3.] The ſuppreſſion of the opinions and inſtitutions peculiar to Calviniſm.

"The perſon, whom the king chiefly intruſted with the execution of this arduous plan, was William Laud" [who, in July, 1628, became] "biſhop of London.——This haughty prelate executed the plans of his royal maſter, and fulfilled the views of his own ambition, without uſing thoſe mild and moderate methods, which prudence employs, to make unpopular ſchemes go down. He carried matters with an high hand. When he found the laws oppoſing his views, he treated them with contempt, and violated them without heſitation. He loaded the Puritans" [and not them only, but all who avowed the doctrinal ſyſtem of the Church, tho' ever ſo zealous for the hierarchy and ceremonies] "with injuries and vexations, and aimed at nothing leſs than their total extinction. He rejected the Calviniſtical doctrine of predeſtination, publicly, in the year 1625" [viz. in the firſt year of Charles's reign]; "and, notwithſtanding the op-

poſition and remonſtrances of [archbiſhop] Abbot, ſubſtituted the Arminian ſyſtem in its place (*x*)."

The Arminians, therefore, were no loſers, by the death of king James. On the contrary, their influence continually encreaſed, from the moment Charles began to wield the ſceptre. Being the avowed enemies of limited monarchy, this unhappy prince entered as warmly into their religious principles, as they did, into his political views. Between eight and nine years after his acceſſion, the court-credit of the Arminian faction arrived to its meridian; when, on the deceaſe of good archbiſhop Abbot, Laud was lifted to the ſee of Canterbury, and the reformed world, with indignation and concern, ſaw Lambeth palace become the head quarters of Arminianiſm, A. D. 1633.—There had been ſix Proteſtant metropolitans, from the reformation, to the advancement of Laud: viz. Cranmer, Parker, Grindal, Whitgift, Bancroft, and Abbot. Not one of theſe was tainted with Arminianiſm. Laud was the firſt Arminian primate of England, who made profeſſion of the reformed religion. Nor is it unworthy of notice, that Arminius himſelf, whoſe doctrines the high-flying Laud ſo fiercely adopted, was neither more nor leſs than a Dutch Preſbyterian and republican.

I ſhall confine myſelf to two remarkable inſtances of the force and fraud, with which this grand corrupter of our eſtabliſhed Church laboured to debauch her purity of faith.

I. The Directions concerning Preachers, iſſued by James the firſt (as already noted), in the year 1622, forbad every clergyman, under the degree of a biſhop, or of a dean, to preach, in public, either for or againſt ſuch of the doctrines of grace as were ſpecified in thoſe Directions. But as this pro-

(*x*) Moſheim's Eccleſ. Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 518, 519. Octavo, 1768.

hibition

hibition was (*y*) very unpleaſing to the public in general, ſo was it far from producing univerſal obedience. The king, perceiving how much offence his Directions had given to the nation, thought proper to publiſh a ſubſequent (*z*) apology for his conduct in that matter: which diſcreet ſtep conduced, both to calm the minds of the people, and to blunt the force of the Directions themſelves. This was not the firſt time that James had been drawn into a ſcrape by Laud: nor the firſt time of his majeſty's receding from the imprudent meaſures into which he had been hurried by that warm and forward eccleſiaſtic (*a*).

But Charles had very little of his father's "kingcraft." In June 1626 (i. e. hardly more than four months after his coronation), Laud got him to revive the unpopular Directions concerning Preachers; of which a new edition appeared, in the form of a proclamation, extending the prohibition to biſhops and deans themſelves: who were, by this ill-judged ſtretch of royal ſupremacy, commanded to forbear, from treating of predeſtination in their ſermons and writings (*b*).

One immediate deſign of this proclamation was, to ſhelter Richard Montagu (who had lately written

(*y*) Among the remarks, to which James's abſurd injunction had given occaſion, were the following. Some obſerved, that "in prohibiting the preaching of predeſtination, man makes that the forbidden fruit, which God appointed for the tree of life: ſo cordial [are] the comforts contained therein [i. e. contained in the Scripture-doctrine of predeſtination], to a diſtreſſed conſcience,"——Others ſeaſoned their complaints with ſarcaſm and invective: ſaying, "biſhops and deans, forſooth, and none under their dignity, may preach of predeſtination. What is this, but to have the word of God in reſpect of perſons? As if all diſcretion were confined to cathedral men! and they beſt able to preach, who uſe it the leaſt!"
Fuller's Church Hiſt. book x. p. 110.

(*z*) Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 94. (*a*) See, for example, biſhop Hacket's Life of archbiſhop Williams, part i. p. 64. Folio, 1693. (*b*) Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 147, 148.

in behalf of the Arminian doctrines, and of (*c*) abſolute obedience to kings) from the printed refutations, which were ſhowering upon him from all quarters. Among the numerous champions, who had hewn Montagu's Arminianiſm in pieces, were, Dr. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter; biſhop Carleton, of Chicheſter; and Mr. Wootton, divinity profeſſor in Greſham college (*d*).——The parliament too, near a twelvemonth before, had ſeverely cenſured Montagu's performance (entitled, An Appeal to Cæſar), in which, ſaid the committee of enquiry, "There are many things directly contrary to the [xxxix] Articles of Religion eſtabliſhed by parliament. He denies that Arminius was the firſt who infected Leyden with errors and ſchiſms. The ſynod of Dort, ſo honoured by the late king, he calls foreign and partial. He plainly intimates, that there are Puritan biſhops; which, we conceive, tends much to the diſturbance of the peace in Church and State. He reſpects Bellarmine, but ſlights Calvin, Beza, Perkins, Whitaker, and Reynolds. He much diſcountenances God's word; diſgraces lectures, and lecturers, and preaching itſelf; nay, even reading the Bible. Upon the whole, the frame of the book is, to encourage Popery, in maintaining the Papiſts to be the true Church, and that they differ not from us in any fundamental point (*e*)." So ſpake the committee of the houſe of commons, 1625.

'Tis very obſervable, that Charles and Laud had recourſe to a proclamation, becauſe they were afraid to truſt the Arminian controverſy to the management of a convocation. Heylyn has blabbed this

(*c*) Arminianiſm took care, in that age, to connect itſelf with Deſpotiſm. And theſe two ſyſtems, cemented by their mutual intereſt in each other, conſtituted that grand combination, againſt the doctrines of the Church, and againſt the conſtitutional liberty of the public, which ſoon iſſued in the overthrow of nation, church, and king. (*d*) Fuller, book xi. p. 108, 109. (*e*) Parliamentary Hiſtory, vol. vi. p. 353, 354.

curious

curious ſecret: and unwarily informs us, that the biſhops and clergy of England were ſo averſe to Arminianiſm, that it would have been highly unſafe to have ſtaked, on their deciſion, the court deſign of baniſhing predeſtination from the pulpits. Read his own words: "Andrews did not hold it fit for any thing to be done in that particular" [viz. concerning new modelling the Church of England from Calviniſm to Arminianiſm], "as the caſe then ſtood: the truth in thoſe opinions" [by the truth Heylyn means the Arminian tenets] "not being ſo generally entertained among the clergy, nor the archbiſhop [viz. Abbot, who was then living] and the greater part of the prelates ſo inclinable to them [i. e. to Arminius's doctrines], as to venture the determining of thoſe points to a convocation. But that which was not thought fit, in that conjecture, for a convocation, his majeſty was pleaſed to take order in, by his royal edict. Many books had been written againſt Montagu, &c. (*f*)."

Some conſiderable time after the ſaid proclamation, or "royal edict," had been iſſued, Dr. Davenant, biſhop of Saliſbury, preached before the king at Whitehall. His text, as himſelf acquaints us, was Rom. vi. 23. The gift of God is eternal life, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. "Here," ſays his lordſhip, "I expounded the threefold happineſs of the godly.

"1. Happy in the Lord, whom they ſerve: God, or Chriſt Jeſus.

"2. Happy in the reward of their ſervice: eternal life.

"3. Happy in the manner of their reward: χαρισμα, or *gratuitum donum in Chriſto* [i. e. the reward is God's free, unmerited gift in Chriſt.]

"The two former points were not excepted againſt. In the third and laſt, I conſidered eternal life in three divers inſtances:

(*f*) Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 147.

"(1.) In

" [1.] In the eternal deſtination thereunto, which we call election.

" [2.] In our converſion, regeneration, or" [manifeſtative] " juſtification: which I termed the embryo of eternal life.

" [3.] And, laſt of all, in our coronation, when full poſſeſſion of eternal life is given us.

" In all theſe, I ſhewed it to be χαρισμα, or the free gift of God, through Chriſt; and not procured, or pre-merited, by any ſpecial acts depending upon the free-will of men. The laſt point, wherein I oppoſed the Popiſh doctrine of merit, was not diſliked. The ſecond, wherein I ſhewed, that effectual vocation, or regeneration, whereby we have eternal life inchoated and begun in us, is a free gift; was not expreſsly taxed. Only the firſt was it which bred the offence: not in regard of the doctrine itſelf, but becauſe, as my lord's grace [i. e. Harſenet, archbiſhop of York] ſaid, the king had prohibited the debating thereof (*g*)."

What was the conſequence of the excellent biſhop's preſuming to aſſert predeſtination to the face of the Arminian king and his whole court? " Preſently after my ſermon was ended, it was ſignified unto me, by my lord of York, my lord of (*b*) Wincheſter, and

(*g*) Biſhop Davenant's Letter to Dr. Ward, extant in Fuller's Church Hiſt. Book xi. p. 140, 141.

(*b*) The learned and orthodox Dr. Launcelot Andrews was this biſhop of Wincheſter: a prelate, who, tho' a Calviniſt in ſentiment, knew how to keep his Calviniſm to himſelf, like a good courtier, when neceſſity or conveniency required. But if his lordſhip could diſcreetly throw a mantle over his religious principles, to conceal them from Charles, king of England (or, rather, ſuperinduce a veil of gauze over them, by occaſional court-compliance, to render them not ſo glaringly viſible); yet, he dared not diſſemble with God, the King of Heaven. On his knees in his cloſet, biſhop Andrews was as purely and ſcripturally orthodox, as Abbot, Uſher, Carleton, or Davenant. Witneſs, among many others, the following paſſages, which occur in his private devotions; and which, tho' they paſſed the tranſlating pen of an eminent modern Arminian (for I never met with the Greek original), run in this truly evangelical ſtrain.

and my lord Chamberlain, that his majeſty was much diſpleaſed that I had ſtirred this queſtion, which he had forbidden to be meddled withal, one way or other. My anſwer was, that I had delivered nothing but the received doctrine of our Church, eſtabliſhed in the ſeventeenth article: and that I was ready to juſtify the truth of what I had then taught. Their anſwer was, that the doctrine was not gainſayed; but his highneſs had given command, that theſe queſtions ſhould not be debated: and therefore he took it more offenſively, that any ſhould be ſo bold, as, in his own hearing, to break his royal commands.

"My reply was only this: that I never underſtood his majeſty had forbid the handling of any doctrine comprized in the articles of our Church; but only the raiſing of new queſtions, or adding of new ſenſe thereunto: which I had not done, nor ever ſhould do. This was all that paſſed betwixt us, on Sunday night, after my ſermon.

ſtrain. "Hold thou me in, with bit and bridle, when I would break away from thee. O thou, who haſt invited me, compel me to come into my own happineſs!"——"From thee, O Chriſt, the anointed, let me have the unction of thy choſen."——"Think upon the congregation which thou haſt purchaſed and redeemed of old."——"What ſhall thy ſervant ſay? That I will pay thee all? Oh, no! I do moſt truly and ſorrowfully confeſs, that I have nothing at all to pay."——"I have neither underſtanding, to diſcern; nor power to effect; nor, as I ought to have, even will to deſire and ſeek, my trueſt and beſt good."——"We have ſinned, and have all become as an unclean thing: our righteouſneſſes are like filthy rags."——"In me, that is, in my fleſh, dwelleth no good thing."——"I believe his providence, by which the world, and all things in it, are preſerved, governed and perfected."——"Turn thou us, O good Lord, unto thee; and ſo ſhall we be turned."——"O let Chriſt be an effectual propitiation for my ſins, who is a ſufficient propitiation for the ſins of the whole world."——Thou haſt ſent, "Thy Chriſt, the ſon of thy love, that, by his ſpotleſs and holy life, he might fulfil the obedience of the law; and, by the ſacrifice of his death, might take away the curſe."—"Viſit me with the favour which thou beareſt unto thy choſen."—Dean Stanhope's Tranſlation of Biſhop Andrews's Devotions, p. 19, 20. 22. 26. 41. 52. 55, 56. 59. 71. 73. 93. 109.

"The

"The matter thus reſted, and I heard no more of it, 'till coming to the Tueſday ſermon, one of the clerks of the council told me, that I was to attend, at the council table, the next day, at two of the o'clock. I told him, I would wait upon their lordſhips, at the hour appointed.

"When I came thither, my lord of York made a ſpeech of well-nigh half an hour long, aggravating the boldneſs of my offence, and ſhewing the many inconveniences which it was likely to draw after it. ——When his grace had finiſhed, I deſired the lords, that, ſince I was called thither as an offender, I might not be put to anſwer a long ſpeech on the ſudden; but that my lord's grace would be pleaſed to charge me, point by point, and ſo to receive my anſwer: for I did not yet underſtand, wherein I had broken any commandment of his majeſty's, which my lord in his whole diſcourſe took for granted. Having made this motion, I made no farther anſwer: and all the lords were ſilent for a while.

"At length, my lord's grace ſaid, I knew, well enough, the point which was urged againſt me: namely, the breach of the king's declaration. Then I ſtood upon this defence: that the doctrine of predeſtination, which I taught, was not forbidden by the Declaration, (1.) Becauſe in the Declaration, all the [thirty nine] articles are eſtabliſhed: amongſt which, the article of predeſtination is one.—(2.) Becauſe all miniſters are urged to ſubſcribe unto the truth of the article [viz. of the 17th article, which concerns predeſtination], and all ſubjects to continue in the profeſſion of that, as well as of the reſt. Upon theſe and ſuch like grounds, I gathered, it [i. e. predeſtination] could not be eſteemed among forbidden, curious, or needleſs doctrines.

"And here, I deſired, that, out of any clauſe in the Declaration, it might be ſhewed me, that, keeping myſelf within the bounds of the article, I had tranſ-

tranſgreſſed his majeſty's command. But the Declaration was not produced, nor any particular words in it. Only this was urged, that the king's will was, that, for the peace of the Church, theſe high queſtions ſhould be forborne (*i*)." His lordſhip, after diſcreetly promiſing a general conformity to his majeſty's pleaſure, ſaluted the council, and withdrew.

Fuller obſerves, that the biſhop, at his firſt coming into the council chamber, preſented himſelf, before the board, on his knees. A circumſtance of mortifying indignity, which the ſpiteful Laud was, in all probability, the procurer of. A very ſtrange ſight, to behold a biſhop of Saliſbury, one of the moſt reſpectable peers of the realm, conſtrained to that humiliating poſture, only for preaching a doctrine to which he had ſolemnly ſubſcribed; and which was confeſſed to be a true doctrine, by the very perſons themſelves who were the inflicters of the diſgrace, and at the very time when the diſgrace was inflicted! This we learn from the biſhop's own narrative: "Tho' it grieved me," ſays Davenant, "that the eſtabliſhed doctrine of our Church ſhould be diſtaſted; yet, it grieved me the leſs, becauſe the truth of what I delivered was acknowledged even by thoſe who thought fit to have me queſtioned for the delivery of it (*k*)." With what face could Charles's Arminian biſhops reprimand ſo great a prelate as Davenant, for inculcating a ſcriptural tenet, to which the reprimanders themſelves had ſet their own hands, and even then admitted to be a truth of the Bible and of the Church?

On his knees he might have remained, during the whole time of his continuance before the privy council, "for any favour he found from any of his own function there preſent. But the temporal lords bid him ariſe, and ſtand to his own defence; being

(*i*) Idem, apud eund. Ibid. p. 139, 140. (*k*) Ibid. p. 139.

as

as yet only accuſed, not convicted (*l*)." Biſhop Laud, who had, 'tis likely, been one of Davenant's auditory at Whitehall, when the offenſive ſermon was preached; and who was, evidently, the contriver of the preacher's embroilment, contented himſelf with having already effectually played his part behind the curtain: and, tho' preſent as a privy counſellor, ſtily refrained from aſſuming any viſible ſhare in the examination of Davenant. "Doctor Harſenet, archbiſhop of York, managed all the buſineſs againſt [Saliſbury]. Biſhop Laud, walking by, all the while, in ſilence, ſpake not one word (*m*)." But every body knew, by whoſe magic this court ſtorm had been raiſed.

The ſtorm, however, was quickly laid. Within a ſhort time, good biſhop Davenant was admitted to kiſs the king's hand. What paſſed, on that occaſion, is worthy of peruſal. "When I came in, his majeſty declared his reſolution that he would not have this high point" [viz. the high point of predeſtination] "meddled withal, or debated, either the one way, or the other; becauſe it was too high for the people's underſtanding: and other points, which concern reformation and newneſs of life, were more needful and profitable. I promiſed obedience therein: and ſo, kiſſing his majeſty's hand, departed (*n*)." Was not the king an hopeful proficient in Laud's Arminian ſchool? He "would not have" predeſtination "meddled with, or debated, either one way or the other:" i. e. he pretended to prohibit the oppoſing, no leſs than the aſſerting, of that doctrine. But he meant no more than half of what he ſaid. Montagu (to mention a ſingle inſtance, out of many) was encouraged and promoted, for oppoſing predeſtination: i. e. for literally tranſgreſſing the king's oſtenſible injunction. Who ſees not the drift, and deſign, of all this?—Let me add, that

(*l*) Fuller, Ibid. p. 138. (*m*) Fuller, Ibid. (*n*) Ibid. p. 140.

the

the abſolute ſovereignty of the moſt high and only wiſe God, manifeſted in the free predeſtination of men, according to the purpoſe of his unerring will; was contravened, with an exceeding ill grace, by ſuch a monarch as Charles, who was for rendering his own authority abſolute over the lips, the actions, the property, the perſons, and even the religious opinions, of all the men who lived within the limits of the Britiſh dominion.—An earthly prince may eſtabliſh an unbounded authority, and be blameleſs! but the King of Heaven cannot diſpoſe as he pleaſes of his own, without being tyrannical and unjuſt!

II. The other inſtance, which I ſhall juſt mention, of the methods by which Laud ſought to graft Arminianiſm on the creed of theſe nations, diſcovers no leſs of inſidious artifice, than his foregoing treatment of Davenant diſplays of open inſolence and coercion.—I mean the thin craft and the ſhallow ſubtilty, with which he pretended to ſuperſede thoſe articles of religion, which had been ſolemnly recognized and admitted by the biſhops and clergy of Ireland, aſſembled, in full convocation, at Dublin, in the year 1615.

Of thoſe articles, the following are ſome.

"God from all eternity, did, by his unchangeable counſel, ordain whatſoever in time ſhould come to paſs. Yet ſo, as, thereby, no violence is offered to the wills of the reaſonable creatures: and neither the liberty, nor the contingency, of the ſecond cauſes, is taken away; but eſtabliſhed rather.

"By the ſame eternal counſel, God hath predeſtinated ſome unto life, and reprobated ſome unto death, of both which, there is a certain number, known, only to God, which can neither be increaſed nor diminiſhed.

"The cauſe, moving God to predeſtinate to life, is, not the foreſeeing of faith, or perſeverance, or good works, or of any thing which is in the perſon predeſtinated; but only the good pleaſure of God himſelf.

himſelf. For, all things being ordained for the manifeſtation of his glory, and his glory being to appear both in the works of his mercy and of his juſtice; it ſeemed good to his heavenly wiſdom, to chuſe out a certain number, towards whom he would extend his undeſerved mercy: leaving the reſt, to be ſpectacles of his juſtice.

"All God's elect are, in their time, inſeparably united unto Chriſt, by the effectual and vital influence of the Holy Ghoſt, derived from him [i. e. from Chriſt], as from the head, to every true member of his myſtical body. And, being thus made one with Chriſt, they are truly regenerated, and made partakers of him and all his benefits (*o*)."

More of theſe excellent articles may be ſeen, in the performance referred to below. The Lambeth articles, and alſo as many of our own xxxix as directly relate to the Calviniſtic doctrines, were incorporated with the Iriſh Confeſſion; and the whole ratified by the authority of king James I. the then reigning prince.

His ſon Charles had filled the throne, between 9 and 10 years, ere Laud would venture to nibble publicly at the ſaid confeſſion. With what low arts of intrigue and addreſs he, at length, in the year 1634, feigned to have compaſſed his point, may be learned from Heylyn (*p*). Matters were conducted with ſuch duplicity, that even the learned and ſagacious archbiſhop Uſher did not penetrate the more than Jeſuitic ſlineſs of Laud, Strafford, and Bramhall. Witneſs that part of Uſher's letter to his friend Dr. Ward (the ſame Dr. Ward who had aſſiſted at the ſynod at Dort); wherein the upright, unſuſpecting primate thus apprizes Ward, of what had paſſed in the Iriſh convocation of 1634. "The articles of religion, agreed upon in our former ſynod, Anno 1615, we let ſtand as they did before. But,

(*o*) Anti-Armin. p. 17—20. (*p*) Life of Laud, p. 255—258.

for

for the manifeſting of our agreement with the Church of England, we have received and approved your articles alſo" [i. e. the 39 articles], "concluded in the year 1572; as you may ſee in the firſt of our canons (*q*)."

The archbiſhop was in the right. But Laud and his party endeavoured to infer, that the Church of Ireland, by receiving and approving the 39 Articles of the Church of England, had actually quitted and aboliſhed the Iriſh articles antecedently eſtabliſhed in 1615. This was the quirk, which Laud had in view from the firſt. But it was a quirk, and nothing elſe. For, by "receiving" and "approving" the Engliſh articles "alſo"; the Iriſh prelates and clergy did neither cancel nor ſuperſede their own prior articles, but only "manifeſted," or publicly and deliberately avowed, their doctrinal "agreement" with the Church eſtabliſhed on this ſide St. George's Channel. So that Laud's Arminian policy amounted to no more, after all, than a ſtroke of mere chicane; which ſhewed, indeed, he ſophiſtry and deceit whereof he was capable, but which, in reality, left the old articles ſtanding in full force "as they did before."

The articles of 1615 are, to this day, a part of the national creed eſtabliſhed in Ireland. They were ſolemnly admitted by the eccleſiaſtical power, and as ſolemnly ratified by the civil. They could only be repealed and aboliſhed by the ſame authority, which had eſtabliſhed them. But this has never been done. Conſequently, they are in full force, to this very hour; and, together with our own xxxix (admitted "alſo," merely by way of declaratively "manifeſting" or acknowledging the "agreement" between the two churches), conſtitute the legal ſtandard of faith in that kingdom. For the truth

(*q*) Uſher's Letters, annexed to his Life, by Dr. Parr; Let. 185. p. 477.

of this, we have not only the unexceptionable teſtimony of archbiſhop Uſher himſelf (who preſided, perſonally, in this convocation of 1634, when the Engliſh articles were "alſo" received); but likewiſe the evidence of the canon then and there paſſed, and which to this moment keeps its place at the head of the Iriſh "Conſtitutions and canons eccleſiaſtical." It runs thus. "For the manifeſtation of our agreement with the Church of England, in the confeſſion of the ſame Chriſtian faith, and the doctrine of the ſacraments; we do receive and approve the book of articles of religion, agreed upon by the archbiſhops, and biſhops, and the whole clergy, in the convocation holden at London, in the year of our Lord God, 1572, for the avoiding of diverſities of opinions, and for the eſtabliſhing of conſent, touching true religion. And, therefore, if any, hereafter, ſhall affirm, that any of thoſe articles are, in any part, ſuperſtitious or erroneous; or ſuch as he may not, with a good conſcience, ſubſcribe unto; let him be excommunicated, and not abſolved before he make a public revocation of his error." Here is not the remoteſt hint, concerning any ſetting aſide of the former articles. The canon only aſſociates the 39 articles with the preceding ones, and gives to the former the ſame weight of reſpectability in Ireland, which they bear in England.

Dr. Fuller, therefore, was too haſty, in aſſerting, that the Iriſh articles were "utterly excluded (*r*)." There was no excluſion, nor amputation, in the caſe. Laud himſelf, ſome years afterwards, confeſſed the very point I am now maintaining. He tells us, that one of the accuſations againſt him, on his trial, in 1644, was, concerning "The articles of Ireland, which call the Pope the man of ſin. But," continues Laud, "the articles of Ireland

(*r*) Church Hiſt. B. 11. p. 149.

bind

bind neither this Church nor me (*s*)."—*Exceptio probat regulam in non exceptis.* His grace's obſervation decides the queſtion at once. "The articles of Ireland bind not" the Church of England, "nor me" as an Engliſh prelate. What was this, but allowing, to every purpoſe of argument, that the Iriſh articles continued to "bind" the Church and biſhops of that kingdom, though they bound not the Church and biſhops of this? I muſt again remind my reader, that Laud advanced the above remark, in the year 1644: which was no fewer than ten years after the Iriſh articles are pretended to have been ſet aſide.—It remains, that the famous articles of Ireland were never repealed at all. Without doubt, Laud intended to repeal them, when due opportunity ſhould ſerve; and aſſociated the Engliſh articles with the Iriſh ones, by way of prelude to the future abolition of the latter. But the civil ſtorm, which ſoon began to thicken, rendered that, and many ſimilar projects of his, abortive. It ſaved the thirty-nine articles themſelves from annihilation.

How violently matters were carried, in England, for the ſuppreſſion of the old doctrines, and for the extenſion of Arminianiſm, appears, among a thouſand inſtances beſides, from the viſitation articles, iſſued by Laud's truſty friend and pliable machine, Dr. Richard Mountagu. When this profligate prieſt diſgraced the mitre of Norwich, among the queſtions, propounded to the churchwardens of that dioceſe, was the following: "Doth your miniſter, commonly, or of ſet purpoſe, in his popular ſermons, fall upon thoſe much diſputed and little-underſtood doctrines of God's eternal predeſtination, of election antecedaneous, of reprobation irreſpective without ſinne foreſeene, of free-will, of perſever-

(*s*) Laud's Hiſt. of his own Troubles and Tryal, vol. i. p. 390. publiſhed by Mr. Wharton, 1695.

ance, and not falling from grace; points obſcure, unfoldable, unfoordable, untractable (*t*).?"

This, and ſimilar practices of ſuch dioceſans as were tools to the court, were the fruits of archbiſhop Laud's own "injunctions", ſignified to the biſhops in general, and charging them, "in his majeſtie's name," that they ſhould "take ſpecial care, that no miniſter, nor lecturer, in their dioceſſe, ſhould preach upon the prohibited controverted points, contrary to his majeſtie's declarations and inſtructions:" and that they, the biſhops, "ſhould give an yearly account, to the archbiſhop, of their proceedings herein (*u*)." And thus, as Mr. (*x*) Prynne truly obſerves,

(*t*) Canterburie's Doome, p. 177.

(*u*) Ibid. (*x*) Let none except againſt Mr. William Prynne, as though he were an incompetent evidence. The very reverſe is true. Hence he is frequently cited and referred to by Heylyn himſelf: and (which imparts infinitely ſtronger ſanction to the precedent) by the reſpectable Mr. Strype, who was particularly delicate, as to the ſources from whence he drew his intelligence.—Prynne was warmly attached to the doctrinal principles of the Church of England, and even wrote much in their defence: though the inhuman ſeverities, which he experienced at the hands of the furious eccleſiaſtics then in power, gave him ſome diſtaſte of epiſcopacy itſelf. Nor were even his political ſentiments carried to ſuch an extreme, as to render them peculiarly obnoxious. In the long parliament, he attached himſelf, with zeal, to the intereſts of king Charles I. and was one of thoſe who voted his majeſty's conceſſions ſatisfactory: for which the army excluded him from the houſe of commons. He was deemed ſo ſturdy a royaliſt, that, during the uſurpation, Cromwell, on whom he had ſeverely reflected in his writings, threw him into priſon. When things began to verge towards the reſtoration of Charles II. in 1659, Mr. Prynne was permitted to reſume his ſeat in parliament: where his ſervices to the then excluded prince, were ſo diſtinguiſhed, and his warmth for recalling him, ſo violent, that even general Monk adviſed him, to moderate his zeal. Charles the Second, when reſtored, was ſo ſenſible of his ability and merit, that he appointed him chief keeper of the Tower records, with a ſalary of 500l. per annum; which office he enjoyed to his death. His acceptance of this promotion is, perhaps, the largeſt blot in his eſcutcheon.—— That a man of Prynne's noble ſpirit, who had, both under the encroachments of Charles the Firſt, and under the uſurpation of Oliver Cromwell, made ſuch glorious ſtands againſt tyranny, and ſuffered ſo greatly in the cauſe of civil and eccleſiaſtical liberty; ſhould, afterwards,

ſerves, "The Arminian errors were freely vented, in all dioceſſes, without any public oppoſition: and thoſe who out of zeal to truth, durſt open their mouths to refute them, were ſilenced, ſuſpended, and brought into the high commiſſion, to their undoing; while the Arminians, on the contrary, had free liberty to broach their erroneous tenets, without controul, and were advanced to the greateſt benefices and eccleſiaſtical dignities (*y*)."

wards, ſo far degenerate from the fervor of his firſt love, as to hold an appointment under ſo abandoned a being as the ſecond Charles; would aſtoniſh, if any human deviations from virtue could juſtify aſtoniſhment.—Had Prynne loſt his life, when he loſt his ears, his name had deſcended, with untarniſhed luſtre, to poſterity.

This learned orthodox, and indefatigable man, was born at Swainſwick, in Somerſetſhire; received his ſchool education at Bath; was a graduate of Oriel College, Oxford: and became barriſter, bencher, and reader, at Lincoln's Inn. During the civil commotions, he ſat in parliament for Newport, in Cornwall. After the Reſtoration, he was one of the members for Bath.

He was a profound and maſterly, but neither a conciſe, nor a polite, writer. His works, many of which (particularly, in divinity and antiquities) are extremely valuable and uſeful: are ſaid to amount to no fewer than forty volumes in folio and quarto.

Old Anthony Wood, who treats the memory of this great man with much indecent ſcurrility, yet does juſtice to his induſtry: "I verily believe," ſays Anthony, "that, if rightly computed, he wrote a ſheet for every day of his life; reckoning from the time when he came to the uſe of reaſon and the ſtate of man."

The ſaid Anthony's account of Mr. Prynne's method of ſtudy, is amuſing, for the quaintneſs with which it is expreſſed. "His cuſtom, when he ſtudied, was, to put on a long quilted cap, which came an inch over his eyes; ſerving, as an umbrella, to defend them from too much light: and, ſeldom eating a dinner, would, every three hours or more, be maunching a roll of bread; and now and then refreſh his exhauſted ſpirits with ale, brought to him by his ſervant.——He brought his body into an ill habit, and ſo, conſequently, ſhortened his days, by too much action and concernment day and night."—This hard ſtudent, however, held out till the 69th, if not the 70th year of his age. A period, whereof poor Anthony Wood came ſhort, by ſix or ſeven years.

Mr. Prynne died, at his chambers in Lincoln's Inn, A. D. 1669. And lies buried in the walk, under the chapel there, among the pillars which ſupport that elegant fabric.

(*y*) Cant. Doome, u. f.

Had Charles's political views been crowned with ſucceſs, archbiſhop Laud would, moſt undoubtedly, have given the *coup de grace* to our eſtabliſhed Calviniſm, by procuring the XXXIX Articles to be repealed in form, and by ſubſtituting Arminian ones in their room. Together with the utter extinction of civil liberty, the Church would have been ſhorn of thoſe evangelical principles, which, through the good hand of God upon us, are ſtill it's glory. We had been made

" *An iſland in our doctrines, far diſjoin'd*
" *From the whole world of Proteſtants beſide.*"

But, as things then ſtood, the repeal of the articles would have been too dangerous a ſtride. Though Laud took care to have the biſhoprics and crown benefices, as faſt as they became vacant, filled up, for the moſt part, by a colony of new Arminians; yet, the old Calviniſtic prelates and beneficiaries did not die off, with ſufficient rapidity, for him to ſecure a majority in the convocation. Beſides: the body of the people, incapacitated from being corrupted by preferment, would never have parted tamely with their Proteſtant creed, had Laud even been able to have packed an eccleſiaſtical convocation to his mind. The members of the Church of England had, in general, at that time, a very large portion of principle and virtue: which rendered them, as a body, not only reſpectable, but formidable. Religion was deemed ſacred, by the public; and a thing worthy of contending for. The temper of thoſe times would not have borne the total alteration at which Laud aimed. Matters were, therefore, to be done by degrees. The reformed doctrine, eſtabliſhed by law, and rooted in the hearts of the nation, could not, with ſafety to its aſſailants, be taken, ſword in hand; but they flattered themſelves, that it might be gradually undermined.—The archbiſhop was forced to content himſelf, for

the

the preſent, with altering the face of the Church, before he would venture to make a home thruſt at her internal conſtitution. He was for painting her firſt, and for completely debauching her afterwards. The ſuperinduction of Popiſh ceremonies was to clear the way for that of Popiſh Arminianiſm: which two ſtreams, when united in their courſe, were to have emptied themſelves into the dead ſea of arbitrary power.

But, juſt as the luckleſs metropolitan had made a promiſing entrance on his toil, Providence ſtopped him ſhort: and the adventurer fell, himſelf, into the pit which he had made for the country that bred him, and for the Church that fed him. How unjuſtifiable ſoever (humanly ſpeaking) the means might be, which brought this prelate to the ſcaffold, the Church and kingdom of England would have had little reaſon to lament his fall, had he fallen alone, and not, like the apoſtate ſun of the morning, dragged other ſtars, from their orbits, with his tail.—It is very remarkable, that, on his trial, he utterly denied himſelf to be either an Arminian, or a promoter of Arminianiſm. A denial, badly calculated to impreſs us with a favourable idea of his regard to veracity. "I anſwer in general," ſaid he, "that I never endeavoured to introduce Arminianiſm into our Church; nor ever maintained any Arminian opinions.——I did neither protect, nor countenance, the Arminians perſons, books or tenets.——True it is, I was, in a declaration of the commons houſe, taxed as a favourer [and] advancer of Arminians and their opinions, without any particular proof at all: which was a great ſlander to me (z)." O human nature, how low art thou capable of falling!

I ſhall cloſe this eſſay, with a ſhort and general review,

1. Of the Calviniſm of our old Engliſh biſhops.

(z) Cant. Doome, p. 508.

2. Of the Calviniſm of our Engliſh Univerſities.

3. Of the ſtate of the Calviniſtic doctrines in our Church, from the death of archbiſhop Laud, to the preſent time;—And,

4. Obviate an objection or two, by which thoſe doctrines are defamed.

I. What has been already obſerved, concerning the principal biſhops, who flouriſhed under king Edward VI. (during whoſe reign the Reformation was firſt eſtabliſhed in England), renders any farther demonſtration, of their Calviniſm, entirely needleſs. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Ferrar, Ponet, were eminent among the golden fathers who adorned that truly Proteſtant period.

Under Elizabeth, the Church could boaſt of prelates no leſs ſound, holy, and learned. Hear how pathetically their orthodoxy was lamented by the Popiſh party. "In England," ſaid the zealous Scultingius, "Calvin's Book of Inſtitutions is almoſt preferred to the Bible itſelf" [had the Papiſts ſaid, 'In England, Calvin's Inſtitutions are valued next after the Bible,' he had come nearer the mark]. "The pretended Engliſh biſhops enjoin all the clergy to get the book almoſt by heart, never to have it out of their hands, to lay it by them in a conſpicuous part of their pulpits; in a word, to prize and keep it as carefully, as the old Romans are ſaid to have preſerved the ſybilline oracles." Another angry Papiſt (Stapleton) a native of our own iſland, thus made his moan: "The Inſtitutions of Calvin are ſo greatly eſteemed in England, that the book has been moſt accurately tranſlated into Engliſh, and is even fixed in the pariſh churches for the people to read. Moreover, in each of the two Univerſities, after the ſtudents have finiſhed their circuit in philoſophy, as many of them, as are deſigned for the miniſtry, are lectured firſt of all in that book (*a*)."

(*a*) Quoted by Bayle, vol. v. p. 87.

Indeed,

Indeed, the doctrinal Calviniſm of Elizabeth's biſhops is almoſt incapable of exaggeration. Would they, in the memorable convocation of 1562, have "thought fit that miniſters ſhould converſe in Ponet's catechiſm," in order to "learn true divinity from it (*b*);" if they themſelves had not been Calviniſts of the ſtrongeſt dye?

Parkhurſt, biſhop of Norwich, ſhall give us a ſample, how highly the foreign Calviniſtic divines were eſteemed and venerated by our epiſcopal bench. That ingenious prelate thus celebrated the praiſes (A. D. 1573.) of ſome tranſmarine worthies who were then living:

De Bullingero, Bibliandro, Martyre, Zancho,
Et Gualthero, Geſnero, de Pelicano,
Noſtrum judicium ſi, forſan, Cole, requiris;
Hos ego doctrinâ eximios, pietate graveſque,
Judico: queis ſimiles perpaucos hic habet orbis (*c*).

That is: "Do you aſk, what I think of Bullinger, Bibliander, Peter Martyr, Zanchius, Gualter, Geſner, and Pelicanus? My opinion of them is, that they are illuſtrious in point of learning, venerable for their piety, and that they have very few equals in the whole world."

Even in the reign of Charles I. a new edition of Doctor Willett's famous book, entitled, *Synopſis Papiſmi* (from which, ſome extracts have been laid before the reader, Sect. XVIII.) was favoured with a patent, the preamble to which takes notice, "That the Doctor was a very painful man in behalf of the Church, and that his *Synopſis* had been approved by the biſhops; held in great eſteem by the two Univerſities; and much deſired by all the learned, both of the clergy and laity, throughout the king's dominions (*d*)." This was in 1630. So

(*b*) Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 354. (*c*) Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 283. (*d*) Acta Regia, p. 789.

uncorrupt

uncorrupt in doctrine did the biſhops, the Univerſities, the clergy, and the people, generally, continue, even under the malignant aſpect of the Laudæan planet!

Deſcend we lower ſtill. The reign of Charles II. was not wholly undignified with Calviniſtic biſhops. Witneſs the great Dr. Saunderſon, biſhop of Lincoln. "When I began," ſays this valuable prelate, "to ſet myſelf to the ſtudy of divinity as my proper buſineſs, Calvin's Inſtitutions were recommended to me, as they were generally to all young ſcholars in thoſe times, as the beſt and perfecteſt ſyſtem of divinity, and the fitteſt to be laid as a groundwork in the ſtudy of that profeſſion. And indeed my expectation was not at all deceived, in the reading of thoſe Inſtitutions (*e*)." Dr. Edwards, to whom I am indebted for this quotation, adds, that, as biſhop Saunderſon "began with Calvin, ſo he proceeded to approve of his [Calvin's] ſentiments, through his whole life: as we ſee in his letters to Dr. Hammond, and in other parts of his writings (*f*)."—His lordſhip was the author of an admirable tract, intitled, *Pax Eccleſiæ:* in which, among a great number of other judicious obſervations, the diſcerning prelate thus accounts for the "advantages," on which the "Arminian party hath and yet doth gain ſtrength to itſelf." As, for inſtance, "The publiſhing of Mr. Mountagu's appeal, with allowance [i. e. under the ſanction of court countenance]: which both hath given confidence to ſundry, who before were Arminians, but in ſecret, now to walk unmaſked, and to profeſs their opinions publicly in all companies." The good biſhop alſo accounted for the progreſs of the new doctrine, on another conſideration: viz. "The plauſibleneſs of Arminianiſm, and the congruity it hath, in ſundry points, with the principles of cor-

(*e*) See Edwards's Veritas Redux, p. 542. (*f*) Ibid.

rupt

rupt nature, and of carnal reaſon. For 'tis a wonderful tickling to fleſh and blood, to have the powers of nature magnified, and to hear itſelf flattered, as if ſhe carried the greateſt ſtroke in the work of ſalvation: eſpecially, when thoſe ſoothings are conveyed under the pretence of vindicating the diſpenſations of God's providence from the imputation of injuſtice." His lordſhip then proceeds to ſpecify, what he terms, "The manifold cunning of the Arminians, to advance their own party: as, 1. In pleading for a liberty for every man to abound in his own ſenſe, in things undetermined by the Church: that ſo they [the Arminians] may ſpread their own tenets the more freely. Whereas, yet, it is too apparent, by their writings and ſpeeches, that their intent and endeavour is, to take the benefit of this liberty themſelves; but not to allow it to thoſe that diſſent from them.—2. In bragging out ſome of their private tenets, as if they were the received eſtabliſhed doctrine of the Church of England; by forcing the words of Articles, or Common Prayer Book, to a ſenſe which appeareth not to have been intended therein: as Mr. Mountagu hath done, in the point of falling from grace. Whereas the contrary tenet, viz. of the final perſeverance of the righteous in grace and faith, may be, by as ſtrong evidence, every way, and by as natural deducement, collected out of the ſaid books: as ſhall be eaſily proved, if it be required.—3. In ſeeking to derive envy on the oppoſite [i. e. on the Calviniſtic] opinions; by delivering them in terms odious, and of ill and ſuſpicious ſound.—4. Which is the moſt unjuſt and uncharitable courſe of all the reſt, in ſeeking to draw the perſons, of thoſe that diſſent from them, into diſlike with the ſtate: as if they [i. e. as if the Calviniſts] were Puritans, or Diſciplinarians, or that way affected." So much for biſhop Saunderſon's judgment, concerning the "manifold, unjuſt, and uncharitable cunning of the Arminians, to advance their

their own party."—But what was his judgment, concerning the Calviniſtic ſyſtem itſelf? Read it, in his own words. "Leſt this covenant [i. e. the covenant of grace aud redemption] ſhould yet be ineffectual, and Chriſt die in vain; becauſe none of the ſons of Adam, left to themſelves, eſpecially in this wretched ſtate of [original] corruption, could actually have repented and believed in Chriſt; [it pleaſed God] for the glory of his grace, to elect and cull a certain number of particular perſons, out of the corrupted lump of mankind, to be advanced into this covenant, and thereby entitled to ſalvation: and that without any cauſe, or motive, at all, in themſelves; but merely of his [i. e. of God's] own free grace and good pleaſure in Jeſus Chriſt: pretermitting, and paſſing by the reſt, to periſh juſtly, in their ſins."—It is, adds his lordſhip, a part of God's decree, "To confer, in due ſeaſon, upon the perſons ſo elected, all fit and effectual means and graces, needful, for them, unto ſalvation: proportionably to their perſonal capacities and conditions. ——Thus much, concerning the ſalvation of thoſe, whom God hath of his free mercy elected thereunto. But, with the reprobates, whom he hath in his juſtice appointed to deſtruction, he dealeth in another faſhion: as concerning whom, he hath decreed, either,

"1. To afford them neither the extraordinary, nor ſo much as the outward and ordinary means of faith. Or elſe,

"2. In the preſence of the outward means of the word and ſacraments, to withhold the inward concurrence of his enlightening and renewing ſpirit to work with thoſe means. For want whereof, they [the outward means] become ineffectual to them [viz. to the reprobate] for their good; working upon them either malignantly, ſo as their hearts are the more hardened thereby in ſin and unbelief; or infirmly, ſo as not to work in them a perfect converſion:

ſion: but to produce (inſtead of the gracious habits of ſanctification, as faith, repentance, charity, humility, &c.) ſome weak and infirm ſhadows of thoſe graces: which, for their formal ſemblance ſake, do ſometimes bear the name of thoſe graces they reſemble, but were never, in the mean time, the very true graces themſelves; and, in the end, are diſcovered to have been falſe, by the want of perſeverance (*g*)."——I ſhall only add, from the ſame maſterly tract, his lordſhip's idea of efficacious grace. Upon the elect, ſays he, who live to the uſe of reaſon, God confers "Such a meaſure of faith in the Son of God, of repentance from dead works, of new and holy obedience to God's commandments, together with final perſeverance in all theſe; as, in his excellent wiſdom, he ſeeth meet: wrought and preſerved in them, outwardly, by the word and ſacraments; and, inwardly, by the operation of his holy ſpirit, ſhed in their hearts. Whereby, ſweetly and without conſtraint [i. e. without forcible compulſion], but yet effectually, their underſtandings, wills, and affections, are ſubdued to the acknowledgment and obedience of the goſpel: and both theſe are done, ordinarily, and by ordinary means (*h*)." So writes the biſhop, to whom our Engliſh Liturgy is indebted for its judicious preface, which begins with, "It has been the wiſdom of the Church, &c."

The truly apoſtolic biſhop Pearſon (who ſucceeded the no leſs excellent biſhop Wilkins, in the ſee of Cheſter) was another of Charles the II's prelates, who did honour to the rochet. Dr. Pearſon's Calviniſm is ſo well known, (conſult, for inſtance, his valuable Expoſition of the Creed), that I ſhall only cite a memorable anecdote of him, on the teſtimony of the learned Dr. John Edwards. "When I was

(*g*) Biſhop Saunderſon, in his *Pax Eccleſiæ*: p. 59. 61—63. 69, 70. 72, 73.—Annexed to his Life by Walton. Edit. 1678.

(*h*) Biſhop Saunderſon, Ibid. p. 70, 71.

a young

a young Maſter of Arts," ſaid Pearſon, to Edwards, "I thought there was no difficulty in theſe grand articles" [viz. in the articles which divide the Calviniſts and the Arminians]; "and that I was able to determine any of them with eaſe: eſpecially, on the Arminian ſide. But I have, ſince, found it otherwiſe. And I diſapprove of men's raſh cenſuring and condemning the other [viz. the Calviniſtic] ſide (*i*)." And, indeed, as Dr. Edwards obſerves, we might have gueſſed this to be the biſhop's inclination, by his approving of Mr. Hales's Remains.

So lately, as in the reign of queen Anne, the Engliſh bench was graced with a Beveridge. But further, than the reign of that queen, this deponent ſaith not.

II. Now for a ſketch of the former ſtate of religion in the two Univerſities.

Every body knows the ſituation, in which religious affairs were left by Henry VIII. That monarch, as Luther ſmartly and juſtly expreſſed it, "killed the Pope's body, but ſaved his ſoul alive (*k*):" i. e. his majeſty ſtabbed the Papal (*l*) ſupre-

(*i*) Edwards's Veritas Redux, p. 543. (*k*) Luther's Divine Diſcourſes, or Table-Talk; p. 464—Lond. 1652. folio.

(*l*) And even "the Pope's body," as Luther termed it, bade very fair, at one time, for a revival: Henry having conſented to negotiate a reconciliation with Clement the Seventh, under the healing auſpices of the French king (Francis I.), who had "Prevailed with the Pope to promiſe, that, if the king [of England] would ſend a proxy to Rome, and thereby ſubmit his cauſe to the holy ſee; he [the Pope] would appoint commiſſioners to meet at Cambray, and, immediately afterwards, pronounce the ſentence of divorce, required of him. Bellay, biſhop of Paris, was next diſpatched to London: and obtained a promiſe of the king, that he would ſubmit his cauſe to the Roman conſiſtory, provided the cardinals of the Imperial faction were excluded from it. The prelate carried this verbal promiſe to Rome: and the Pope agreed, that, if the king would ſign a written agreement to the ſame purpoſe, his demands ſhould be fully complied with. A day was appointed, for the return of the meſſenger. But the greateſt affairs, often, depend on the moſt frivolous incidents. The courier, who carried the *king's written* promiſe, was detained beyond the day appointed. News

ſupremacy; continuing, however, to the laſt hour of his life, a devoted bigot to the eſſential doctrines of the Roman Church.

But, "After the death of Henry, by the induſtrious zeal of Calvin and his diſciples, more eſpecially Peter Martyr, ——— the [Engliſh] Univerſities, ſchools, and churches, became the oracles of Calviniſm. —— Hence it happened, that, when it was propoſed, under the reign of Edward VI. to give a fixt and ſtable turn to the doctrine and diſcipline of the Church [of England], Geneva was acknowledged as a ſiſter-church, and the theological ſyſtem, there eſtabliſhed by Calvin, was adopted, and rendered the public rule of faith in England. This, however, was done, without any change of the form of epiſcopal government (*m*)." Thus ſtood matters, while Edward ſwayed the ſceptre.

When Mary governed, the Proteſtant fabric, reared by Edward, was overturned: and as the Univerſities, under him, had been reformed from Popery to Calviniſm; they were, under her, forcibly carried back from Calviniſm to Popery.

Elizabeth brought things to the right paſs again; and our "Univerſities," as well as our Churches, became, once more, "the oracles of Calviniſm:" and ſo they continued, not only 'till that good

News was brought to Rome, that a libel had been publiſhed in England againſt the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king in deriſion of the Pope and cardinals. The Pope and cardinals entered into the Conſiſtory, enflamed with anger: and, by a precipitate ſentence, the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated if he refuſed to adhere to it.—Two days after, the courier arrived: and Clement, who had been hurried from his uſual prudence, found, that, tho' he repented heartily of this haſty meaſure, it would be difficult for him to retract it, or replace affairs on the ſame footing as before." Hume, vol. iv. p. 126, 127.

Thus, had not the Pope regarded his infallibility, as too nice a point of honour to be ſacrificed by reſcinding his late act, his juriſdiction had been re-eſtabliſhed in England.

(*m*) Moſheim, vol. iv. p. 87, 88.

queen

queen aſcended to a brighter crown, but through the reign of her ſucceſſor James, and (notwithſtanding Laud's vehement efforts to the contrary) through the Arminian reign of Charles the Firſt.—I ſhall give a few inſtances.

In 1595, William Barrett, for having contradicted the doctrine of final perſeverance, and for having aſperſed Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, and other luminaries of the Proteſtant church, was forced to make reparation, both to the truths of God, and to the venerable names which he had ſo flippantly traduced, by publicly reading his recantation: which recantation had been drawn up for him, by the Univerſity of Cambridge, for that purpoſe (*n*).

Peter Baro's troubles in the ſame Univerſity, and in the ſame year with Barrett, have been already noted in our XVIIIth Section.

To the above brace of brothers, let me add Dr. John Houſon, by way of making up a leaſh.—This ſaid Houſon, tho' a canon of Chriſt's Church, and tho' he had been vice-chancellor of Oxford, fell under the cenſure of the Univerſity, for (what was then eſteemed a crime of no ſmall magnitude) "advancing ſomewhat, tending to the diſparagement of the Geneva annotations on the Holy Scriptures (*o*)". The ſermons, in which he launched this indirect "diſparagement," were termed, *Conciones publicas, minus orthodoxas, & plenas offenſionis:* i. e. "not ſufficiently orthodox, and replete with offence." In fine, the preacher was called in queſtion, and ſuſpended, "by Dr. Robert Abbot" [brother to archbiſhop Abbot, and ſhortly after biſhop of Saliſbury], "who was then doctor of the chair and vice-chancellor (*p*)." So fared it with canon Houſon, A. D. 1614.

(*n*) See my Tract, entitled, The Church of England vindicated from Arminianiſm.

(*o*) Heylyn's Hiſt. & Miſc. Tracts, p. 632. (*p*) Ibid.

And

And no wonder. For Heylyn himſelf gives us the following needleſs information: "It cannot be denied," ſays the Arminian, "but that, by the error of thoſe times, the reputation which Calvin had attained to in both Univerſities, and the extreme diligence of his followers" [i. e. of the biſhops, clergy, and laity in general] "for the better carrying on of their own deſigns" [viz. the laudable deſigns of barring out Popery and Pelagianiſm] "there was a general tendency unto his [i. e. to Calvin's] opinions (*q*)." The ſame Arminian adds, that Calvin's "Book of Inſtitutes was, for the moſt part, the foundation on which the young divines of thoſe times did build their ſtudies." He even confeſſes, that he could "find" but "two Anti-Calviniſts," in the whole Univerſity of Oxford, at the period here treated of; which poor "two" were, Buckridge, tutor to Laud; and the above ſuſpended Dr. Houſon. Well, therefore, may the ſaid Heylyn obſerve (tho' we ſhould have known it without his information), that, in the two Univerſities, the Anti-Calvinians were "but few in number, and make but a very thin appearance (*r*)." Extremely few and thin indeed, if their whole number amounted to no more than two! So that Heylyn ſhould not have applied (as he does) that line, to the caſe in hand,

Apparent rari nantes in Gurgite vaſto;

but ſhould rather have altered it to

Apparent gemini nantes in Gurgite vaſto!

I mean, ſuppoſing Dr. Buckridge was really not a Calviniſt. Of which, however, I ſtand in ſome doubt. Should my doubt be well grounded, Virgil's line muſt undergo a ſecond alteration: and we muſt ſay, of ſolitary Houſon,

Apparet ſolus natans in Gurgite vaſto.

If Buckridge was then an Anti-Calviniſt, he ſeems to have been an hidden one: elſe would not vice-chancellor Abbot have ſuſpended the fellow of

(*q*) Heylyn, Ibid. p. 626. (*r*) Ibid. p. 627.

John's, with as little ſcruple, as he inflicted that cenſure on the canon of Chriſt's Church? Heylyn's even number, therefore, of two, does not hang well together. Divide his two Arminian doctors, by one; and, in all probability, the remainder will give the (*s*) quotient.

Unhappily for the credit of Arminianiſm, Laud himſelf, its grand hero in England, incurred no little danger and moleſtation, at Oxford, on account of his having been ſuſpected to lean towards that new and hated ſyſtem.—In the year 1606, Mr. Laud, who had then but juſt taken his Batchelor's degree in Divinity, "was queſtioned [i. e. called to account], by Dr. Airy, the vice-chancellor, for a ſermon preached in St. Mary's Church, on the 26th of October, as containing in it ſundry ſcandalous and Popiſh paſſages: the good man [i. e. the vice-chancellor] taking all things to be matter of Popery, which were not held forth unto him in Calvin's Inſtitutes (*t*)." It appears, that the orthodox Univerſity at large, were of the vice-chancellor's mind, both as to the excellency of Calvin, and as to the malignity of Laud. For Heylyn adds: "Which advantage being taken by Dr. Abbot, he ſo violently perſecuted the poor man [i. e. poor Mr. Laud], and ſo openly branded him for a Papiſt, or at leaſt very Popiſhly inclined: that it was almoſt made an hereſy, as I have heard from his [viz. from Laud's] own mouth, for any one to be ſeen in his company;

(*s*) With regard to queen Elizabeth's reign, Heylyn does not pretend to alledge a ſingle inſtance of public oppoſition to Calvin's doctrines, during the whole of that long period, in the Univerſity of Oxford. "Of any men," ſays he, "who publicly oppoſed the Calvinian tenets, in this Univerſity, 'till after the beginning of king James's reign, I muſt confeſs that I have hitherto found no good aſſurance." Ibid. p. 626. He, indeed, pretends to think, that there were ſome who "ſecretly" trained up their pupils in other principles: but, unleſs he had produced better authority, for this ſuppoſition, than his own conjecture, the ſuppoſition may well paſs for groundleſs.

(*t*) Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 49.

and

and a miſpriſion of hereſy, to give him a civil ſalutation as he paſſed the ſtreets (*u*)." They ſaw what materials he was made of, and ſtigmatized him accordingly.

Eight years after Laud's public diſgrace, above recited, to wit, A. D. 1614, when the ſaid Laud had riſen to the preſidentſhip of St. John's College, the ſpirited and active Dr. Abbot (not the archbiſhop, but the biſhop) took him openly to taſk, in a very ſacred place, and on a very ſolemn occaſion: or, as Heylyn phraſes it, "Fell violently foul on Dr. William Laud, whom, in his ſermon at St. Peter's, on Eaſter-Sunday, he [Abbot] publicly expoſed to contempt and ſcorn, under the notion of a Papiſt; as Barret's doctrines had been formerly condemned at Cambridge" [and with ample reaſon], "by the name of Popery (*x*)." As to Barret, he juſtified the ſuſpicions, which were entertained of him at Cambridge, by actually declaring himſelf a Papiſt, ſhortly after (*y*). And for Laud, a few years made it ſufficiently plain, that the Oxonians were not very wide of the mark, in queſtioning the genuine Proteſtancy of that unhappy gentleman. Conſidering the zealous orthodoxy of the Univerſity in thoſe days, Laud was well off, to eſcape without expulſion.

Various were the ſubſequent toils, which Laud met with; many a weary ſtep did he take, and many a mortifying repulſe did he ſuffer, ere he could climb the hill of promotion, to which he ſo ardently aſpired. Heylyn laments, very pathetically, the difficulties, which this his patron had to ſurmount, on his firſt attempts to aſcend the ladder eccleſiaſtic. "At this time," ſays he, viz. about the year 1624, and the laſt of king James's reign, "biſhop Laud, to whom the raiſing and promoting

(*u*) Ibid. p. 50. (*x*) Heylyn's Tracts, p. 532.
(*y*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Cambridge, p. 151.

of the Arminian doctrines (as they call them) is of late aſcribed, was hardly able to promote and preſerve himſelf: oppreſſed with an hard hand, by archbiſhop Abbot; ſecretly traduced to the king, for the unfortunate buſineſs of the earl of Devonſhire; attaining, with great difficulty, the poor biſhopric of St. David's, after ten years ſervice" [i. e. after ten years court attendance]; "and, yet, but green in favour with the duke of Buckingham (z)." However, in due ſeaſon, the "green" favourite waxed a grey one.

Nothing is more prolific, than hereſy. About three years after Laud had been "publicly expoſed to contempt and ſcorn," by vice-chancellor Abbot, in the pulpit of St. Peter's, Oxford, another bird of Laud's feather (but whoſe neſt was in the Univerſity of Cambridge, as Fellow of Trinity College there) underwent a very uncomfortable plucking. This gentleman's name was Edward Sympſon: who, A. D. 1617, preached a ſermon before king James I. at Royſton; taking for his text, "John iii 6. That which is born of the fleſh is fleſh. Hence he endeavoured to prove, that the commiſſion of any great ſin doth extinguiſh grace and God's ſpirit, for the time, in the man. He added alſo, that St. Paul, in the 7th of Romans, ſpake not of himſelf as an apoſtle and regenerate, but *ſtatu legis*. Hereat his majeſty took, and publicly expreſſed, great diſtaſte: becauſe Arminius had lately been blamed for extracting the like expoſition out of the works of Fauſtus Socinus. Whereupon, he [king James] ſent to the two profeſſors in Cambridge, for their judgment herein: who [i. e. the two Cambridge divinity-profeſſors] proved, and ſubſcribed, the place in the 7th chapter of Romans to be underſtood of a regenerate man, according to St. Auſtin's later opinion in his retractations." What was the reſult? "The

(z) Heylyn's Tracts, p. 634.

preacher

preacher was enjoined a public recantation before the king: which accordingly was performed. Nor doth ſuch a palinody ſound any thing to his diſgrace: having St. Auſtin himſelf for his precedent, who modeſtly retracted what formerly he had written therein (*a*)."

"Nor muſt we forget Mr. Gabriel Bridges, of Corpus Chriſti College, Oxford: who, "By preaching, on the 19th of January [1623], againſt the abſolute decree, in maintenance of univerſal grace, and the co-operation of man's free-will prevented by it, in the public Church of the Univerſity; laid him more open to the proſecution of Dr. Prideaux, and to the cenſure of the vice-chancellor, and the reſt of the heads, &c. (*b*)." We learn, from another writer, that the proſecution of Mr. Bridges terminated in his public recantation of his errors, and that the ſaid recantation, tho' forced at firſt, proved eventually real and ſincere: the good man being brought to a better mind, and to a ſerious conviction of the truths he had too haſtily oppoſed (*c*).

Some years afterwards, I find another religious delinquent; one Mr. Brookes, of Wadham College, Oxford: cenſured, "by the Univerſity heads, for broaching and juſtifying ſome Arminian aſſertions, in a ſermon preached at St. Mary's (*d*)." This young culprit, thus cenſured and diſgraced in the reign of James, was rewarded in that of Charles, by promotion to a wealthy cure of ſouls.

The Theſes, publicly maintained by ſuch as proceeded Doctors in divinity, are an additional demonſtration of the old Univerſity Calviniſm. Mr. Prynne has collected a great number of theſe, from the authentic acts of Oxford in particular: and introduces them, with the following juſt remark. Theſe "Act-Theſes and queſtions are always (be-

(*a*) Fuller's Hiſt. of Camb. p. 160. (*b*) Heylyn's Tracts. p. 633.
(*c*) Anti-Arm. p. 252. (*d*) Anti-Armin. Ibid.

fore they are either admitted, printed, publiſhed, or diſputed on) propounded to a general convocation of the whole Univerſity, and by them particularly allowed, voted, and then recorded in the Univerſity Regiſter, for a teſtimony to poſterity, as orthodox, and conſonant to the eſtabliſhed doctrine, faith, and articles, of the Church of England. So that the whole Univerſity's judgment is comprized in them [i. e. in thoſe Theſes], as well as theirs that give them (*e*)."

In ſelecting a few ſpecimens of which Univerſity propoſitions, I ſhall begin with the times of Elizabeth.

"*Æternâ Dei predeſtinatione continentur, aliorum electio ad vitam æternam, aliorum ad mortem reprobatio:* i. e. The election of ſome perſons to everlaſting life, and the reprobation of others unto death, are comprized, reſpectively, in God's eternal decree of predeſtination.

"*Electorum certa eſt ſalus, ut periers non poſſint.*—The ſalvation of the elect is ſo certain, that they cannot poſſibly periſh.

"*Electi non poſſunt, in hâc vitâ, implere legem Dei.*—The elect are unable, in the preſent life, to fulfil the law of God.

"*Doctrina prædeſtinationis olim tradita ab Auguſtino, & noſtris temporibus à Calvino, eadem eſt.*—The doctrine of predeſtination, which St. Auſtin antiently taught, is the ſame with that doctrine of predeſtination, which in our own times, Calvin hath taught.

"*Præſcientia Dei æterno decreto omnia ordinantis, non pugnavit cum arbitrii libertate primis parentibus conceſſâ.*—The fore-knowledge of God, who ordaineth all things by his eternal decree, did not claſh with that freedom of will which he granted [in the ſtate of innocence] to Adam and Eve."

(*e*) Anti-Armin. p. 241.—For the Theſes themſelves, of which I give a ſample, ſee the ſame Book, from p. 242 to 251.

In

In the reign of James I. the Oxonian Doctors maintained the following, and ſimilar poſitions, for that degree in divinity:

"*Tota ſalus electorum eſt merè gratuita.*—The ſalvation of the elect is, from firſt to laſt, abſolutely free and unmerited.

"*Electi debent eſſe, & ſunt tandem, ſuæ ſalutis certi.*—The elect ought to be aſſured of their ſalvation; and, ſooner or later, they are ſo.

"*Reprobus quiſque ſuâ ſolius perit malitiâ.*—Every reprobate periſhes in conſequence of his own wickedneſs only.

"*An, qui in Chriſto ſunt perire poſſint?* NEG.—They, who are in Chriſt, cannot periſh.

"*An certi ſalutis ſuæ omnes ſalventur?* AFF.—All, who are aſſured of their ſalvation, ſhall ſurely be ſaved.

"*An fideles poſſint, certâ fide, ſtatuere remiſſa eſſe peccata?* AFF.—Believers may, with an aſſured faith, conclude that their ſins are forgiven.

"*Non eſt liberum arbitrium.*—Man's will is not free.

"*Sancti non poſſunt excidere gratiâ.*—Real ſaints cannot fall entirely from grace.

"*An, homo poſſit ſe præparare ad gratiam recipiendam?* NEG.—Man cannot prepare himſelf to receive grace.

"*An, homo poſſit ſcire, ſe habere gratiam?* AFF.—A man, who has grace, may know that he has it.

"*An, electio ſit ex præviſis operibus?* NEG.—Election is not occaſioned by God's foreſight of good works.

"*An, decretum reprobationis ſit abſolutum?* AFF.—The decree of reprobation is abſolute.

"*An, Deus autor peccati, juxta reformatorum ſententiam, ſtatuatur?* NEG.—The doctrine of the reformers, or of the reformed divines, does not make God the author of ſin.

" *An, gratia regenerationis omnibus offeratur?* NEG. ——The grace of regeneration is not offered to all men.

" *An gratia regenerationis poſſit reſiſti?* NEG.——The grace of regeneration is irreſiſtible.

" *An, voluntas, in primâ converſione, habeat ſe tantùm paſſivè?* AFF.——The will of man is entirely paſſive, in the firſt reception of grace.

" *An, reconciliatio per mortem Chriſti ſit ſingulis hominibus impetrati?* NEG.—Chriſt's death did not procure reconciliation with God for every man.

" *An, lapſus Adami, diverſo reſpectu, dici poſſit neceſſarius et contingens?* AFF.——The fall of Adam was both contingent and neceſſary.

" *An, decretum, de dandâ fide, ſit, in mente divinâ, prius decreto de dandâ ſalute?* NEG.——God firſt decreed to ſave his people; and, in conſequence of that decree, reſolved to give them faith.

" *An, ſemel verè juſtificatus ſemper maneat juſtificatus?* AFF.——The man, who is once truly juſtified, continues juſtified for ever.

" *An, voluntas humana reſiſtere poſſit gratiæ Dei efficaci?* NEG.——Man's will cannot reſiſt the efficacious grace of God.

" *An, poſt Adami lapſum, libertas ad bonum ſit prorſus amiſſa?* AFF.——Ever ſince the fall of Adam, the human will has utterly loſt all its freedom to [ſpiritual] good.

" *An, omnes baptizati ſint juſtificati?* NEG.——All baptized perſons are not therefore in a ſtate of juſtification.

" *An, ipſe actus fidei nobis imputetur pro juſtitiâ legis ſenſu proprio?* NEG.——Strictly ſpeaking, the act of believing is not imputed to us for legal righteouſneſs.

" *An, fides, & fidei juſtitia, ſint propria electorum?* AFF.—Faith itſelf, and the righteouſneſs of faith, are peculiar to the elect."

Among

Among others, the Theſes, which next follow, were aſſerted by the Oxford doctors, even after the acceſſion of king Charles I. when Calviniſm ceaſed to enjoy the ſunſhine of court encouragement.

Anno 1625. "*An, prædeſtinatio ſit ex prævifâ fide, vel operibus?* NEG.—Predeſtination to life is not for faith and good works foreſeen."

Anno 1627. "*An, prædeſtinatio ad ſalutem ſit mutabilis?* NEG.—Predeſtination to life is an unchangeable act of God.

"*An, fides, ſemel habita, poſſit amitti?* NEG.—True faith, once had, can never be loſt.

"*An, vera fides cadat in reprobum?* NEG.——No reprobate can truly believe.

"*An, efficacia gratiæ pendeat à libero influxu arbitrii?* NEG.—The efficacy of divine grace is not ſuſpended on the free influence of man's will.

"*An, Chriſtus divinæ juſtitiæ, vice noſtrâ, propriè & integrè ſatisfecerit?* AFF.——Chriſt did, literally and completely, make ſatisfaction to the juſtice of God, in our room and ſtead."

Anno 1628. "*An, arbitrium humanum determinet gratiam divinam?* NEG.—God's grace is not determined by man's will."

Examples might be multiplied, to a volume. But the reader may judge of the crop, by the ſmall gleaning here preſented to his view. The Church of England, in thoſe days, might boaſt of Oxonians who believed, as well as ſubſcribed, her Thirty-nine Articles.

Nor did our other "*oculus angliæ*," the Univerſity of Cambridge, yield a jot to her elder ſiſter, in point of orthodoxy. The eminent Dr. Samuel Ward, in May, 1628, thus wrote, from Cambridge, to archbiſhop Uſher: "As for our Univerſity, none do patronize theſe [i. e. the Arminian] points, either in ſchools, or pulpit. Though, becauſe preferments at court are conferred on ſuch as incline that way, cauſeth

cauſeth ſome to look that way (*f*)." In the ſame letter, he blames a Dr. Jackſon, who had lately "profeſſed himſelf an Arminian:" and adds, concerning the ſaid Jackſon, "I do conceive, all that which he diſputeth in his book, againſt negative reprobation, as not ſorting with the antecedent will of God, for the ſalvation of all; to be againſt the 17th article of religion, which plainly averreth a gratuitous predeſtination of ſome, and not of all. Therefore, from thence [i. e. from the 17th article of the Church of England] is inferred, a not-election of others to that grace: which is that which, properly, is ſtiled, reprobation (*g*)."

More than ſix years after, viz. in June, 1634, when Arminianiſm had waxed both older and bolder, the ſame Dr. Ward wrote as follows, to the ſaid great and good archbiſhop. "We have had ſome doings here [at Cambridge], of late, about one of Pembroke-hall [viz. Mr. Tourney]; who, preaching in St. Mary's, about the beginning of Lent, upon James ii. 22. ſeemed to avouch the inſufficiency of faith to juſtification, and to impugn the doctrine of our 11th article of juſtification by faith only: for which he was convented by the vice-chancellor, who was willing to accept of an eaſy acknowledgment. But the ſame party, preaching his Latin ſermon, *pro gradu*, the laſt week, upon Rom. iii. 28; he ſaid, he came not *Palinodiam canere, ſed eandem Cantilenam canere*. Which moved our vice-chancellor, Dr. Love, to call for his ſermon: which he refuſed to deliver. Whereupon, on Wedneſday laſt, being Barnaby day, the day appointed for the admiſſion of the batchelors of divinity, which muſt anſwer, *Die Comitiorum*; he (viz. the Arminian preacher) was ſtayed (i. e. ſtopt of his degree) by the major part of the ſuffrages of the doctors of the faculty. And though ſundry doctors did favour

(*f*) Uſher's Letters, Let. cxxvii. p. 394. (*g*) Ibid.

him"

him" (even as many as wiſhed to recommend themſelves at court and at Lambeth) "and would have had him to be the man that ſhould anſwer, *Die Comitiorum*; yet he is put by: and one Mr. Flatkers, of our (viz. of Sydney) college, choſen to anſwer; whoſe firſt queſtion is, *ſola fides juſtificat.*——The truth is, there are ſome heads among us, that are great abettors of Mr. Tourney, the party above mentioned; who, no doubt, are backed by others. I pray God, we may perſiſt in the doctrine of our Church, contained in our articles and homilies! innovators are too much favoured, now a days. Our vice-chancellor hath carried buſineſs, for matter of religion, both ſtoutly and diſcreetly.—It may be you are willing to hear of our Univerſity affairs. I may truly ſay, I never knew them in worſe condition, ſince I was a member thereof: which is almoſt forty-ſix years. Not but that, I hope, the greater part is orthodox. But new heads are brought in, and they are backed in maintaining novelties, and them which broach new opinions. Others" [i. e, thoſe who abide by the old Calvinian truths] "are diſgraced, and checked, when they come above" [i. e. when they either went to court, or waited on Charles's new Arminian biſhops] "as I myſelf was, by my lord of York" [viz. Richard Neile] "laſt Lent, in conſiſtory, for favouring Puritans" (the ſtale, unjuſt, and ſhameleſs pretence, under which the Laudæan faction ſought to cover their deſign of ſmothering the Church doctrines): "and all from falſe informations from hence, which are believed without any examination.——I think, they would have me out of my profeſſor's place. And I could wiſh the ſame, if I could have one to ſucceed, according to my mind.——Well, howſoever, God's will be done; and he teach us humility and patience! I heard, alſo, of ſome doings with you. The Lord of Heaven direct you and us, and teach us to ſubmit to him in all things.—I have not yet

ſent

ſent my anſwer to Mr. Ch. but intend, ere long, I have not finiſhed yet one point: (viz.) to ſhew, that the Arminian opinions were condemned in the ſynods which condemned the Pelagian hereſy.—— The tractate, *De Prædeſtinatianis*, in defence of your lordſhip (I know not your adverſary, nor his name), is Doctor Twiſſe's. It may be, he hath ſent your lordſhip a copy of it. He is a deſerving man.—We have a (new) vice-chancellor, who favours novelties, both in rites and doctrines (*b*)."——Obſerve here, 1. That Arminianiſm was then beginning to gain ground in Cambridge. 2. This made good Doctor Ward ſigh and weep over the corrupt inundation, which he dreaded, would overwhelm the Church of England. 3. Laud, Neile, and the other eccleſiaſtical inſtruments of court oppreſſion, laboured, might and main, to "diſgrace" and "check" all the conſcientious churchmen, who ſtood to the "Articles" and "Homilies." Among the reſt, this Dr. Ward, and archbiſhop Uſher himſelf, had been brow-beaten and inſulted by the unbluſhing prieſts who held the rudder. 4. Matters, however, though gloomy and unpromiſing, were not yet ſo bad, but an Arminian clergyman, "backed" by people in power, was, for being an Arminian, refuſed his degree "by the major part of the ſuffrages" of the Cambridge doctors in divinity, ſo low down as A. D. 1634, which was the tenth year of Charles's reign, and the ſecond of Laud's primacy.——— 5. How differently did the court-current flow, about ſixteen years before, when the identical Dr. Ward, who wrote the above letter, was ſent by king James, in triumph, to the ſynod of Dort!

Let the ſame reverend and learned hand inform us, how the Church of Rome exulted, on the eclipſe of Calviniſm in England. "Our commencement is now over: where dean Baden, now Dr. Baden,

(*b*) Uſher's Letters, Let. clxxix. p. 470, 471.

did

did well perform his part; who anſwered the act, *Veſperiis Comitiorum.* And ſo did the batchelor of divinity, *Die Comitiorum*; being one of the fellows of our college. The (late) vice-chancellor, Dr. Love, did well perform his part; eſpecially, in encountering with one Franciſcus de St. Clara (but his true name is Davenport), who, in a book ſet forth at Douay, would reconcile our articles of religion with the definitions of the council of Trent (*i*)." The encreaſing rampancy of Arminianiſm in this kingdom, which encouraged the Pope himſelf to make Laud two ſeparate offers of a cardinal's hat, emboldened the Romiſh minorite, Davenport, to lend an helping hand to the common cauſe, by ſtriving to ſtrike up a match between the thirty-nine articles and the deciſions of Trent. Nor did the minorite, in this ſhameleſs effort at impoſſibility, act at all more abſurdly, than did thoſe degenerate and impudent Proteſtants, who firſt pretended to find Arminianiſm in the ſaid thirty-nine articles of the Church of England. Was Arminianiſm really the doctrine of theſe articles, Francis de St. Clara might have ſpared half his trouble: for there would then be, ſo far as Arminianiſm is concerned, no ſhadow of difference between the Engliſh articles and the Trentiſh determinations.

I ſhall conclude this brief enquiry into the Calviniſm of our Univerſities, with a ſketch of the happy effects, which archbiſhop Uſher's preaching had, at Oxford, on the youths of that renowned ſeminary, antecedently to the civil wars.

"The perſuaſion of his (i. e. of Uſher's) incomparable learning, the obſervation of his awful gravity, the evidence of his eminent and exemplary piety, all improved to the height, by his indefatigable induſtry, drew ſtudents to flock to him, as doves to the windows. It joys us to recollect,

(*i*) Ibid. Let. clxxxi. p. 473.

how

how multitudes of ſcholars, eſpecially the heads of our tribes, thronged to hear the ſound of his ſilver bell, and how much they were taken with the voice of this wiſe charmer. Surely, if ever, it was then, that the goſpel ran and was glorified in Oxford.—Here, you might have ſeen a ſturdy Saul changed into a ſubmiſſive Paul: a perſecutor transformed into a preacher. There, a tender-hearted Joſiah, lamenting after the Lord, and, with Ephraim, ſmiting on his thigh, ſaying, what have I done! Others, with the penitent Jews, ſo ſtabbed at the heart, as to cry out, men, brethren, fathers, what ſhall we do (*k*)?"—Could archbiſhop Uſher have riſen from the dead, and preached in Oxford, as heretofore; delivering the ancient truths, and with the ſame ſpiritual ſucceſs, I fear there has been a ſubſequent period, when his converted ſtudents would have been expelled, and the preacher himſelf rung out of the town.—This reminds me of the

IIId remaining particular: namely, juſt to touch upon the ſtate of religion amongſt us, ſince the primary introduction of Arminianiſm by archbiſhop Laud.

The final cataſtrophes of Charles's reign are well known; of which cataſtrophes his own tyranny, perverſeneſs, and inſincerity, together with the violent conduct of his miniſters, muſt undoubtedly be conſidered as the main ſource. With regard to eccleſiaſtical matters, the triumphant Sectariſts did but finiſh what Laud had began. That prelate laboured to deſtroy the internal doctrines of the Church: and the republican zealots followed the blow, by demoliſhing the whole fabric.

In the unſettled times, which intervened between the execution of Charles I. and the reſtoration of his family to the crown; the Church lay in ruins. A violent extreme, very frequently, engenders its

(*k*) See the preface to the quarto edition of archbiſhop Uſher's Sermons. Edit. 1660.

oppoſite.

oppoſite. As Laud had directed much of his zeal and force towards his favourite point, of re-baptizing the Church into the groſſeſt abſurdities of ſplendid ſuperſtition; his enemies were no ſooner maſters of the field, than they bent things too much the other way, and opened a channel to the wildeſt extravagancies of fanaticiſm. The elegant ſimplicity, with which the national worſhip had been ſolemnized, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. gave place, in many inſtances, to naked and ſlovenly modes of celebration, that rendered the public performance of divine offices, rather matter of contempt and diſguſt, than ſteps to decent and reaſonable devotion.

It muſt, indeed, be acknowledged, that, during the period now treated of (viz. the uſurpation), many eminent divines flouriſhed, whoſe piety and learning, abilities and candour, would have adorned any denomination, and have done honour to any party, whatever. Mr. Stephen Charnock, for example, in whom all thoſe illuſtrious qualities were united, and to a very uncommon degree, may rank with the beſt and moſt reſpectable men, to whom this iſland ever gave birth. Yet is it equally true, that no ſmall number of the then authorized teachers were immerged in the thickeſt dregs of ignorance, bigotry, and fanaticiſm. For, the plan (now adopted by Mr. John Weſley, and which has ever been in faſhion among the Turks) was then too generally purſued in England: viz. that of proſtituting the miniſterial function, to the loweſt and moſt illiterate mechanics, perſons of almoſt any claſs, but eſpecially common ſoldiers, who pretended to be pregnant with "a meſſage from the Lord," had free acceſs to the pulpit. If the preacher was hardly "letter-learned" enough, to read his text; that very circumſtance was, in the opinion of many, but a ſtronger demonſtration of his being ſupernaturally "gifted." It is eaſy to conceive, what an

inverted

inverted and diſtorted figure the Proteſtant doctrines muſt have made, when viewed through the medium of ſuch miniſtrations. *Corruptio optimi eſt peſſima.* It was this unhappy circumſtance, which opened the chief door to thoſe floods of licentious ridicule and burleſque, poured on the moſt venerable and important truths, in the ſubſequent days of Charles II.—Among the lay-preachers, who moſt ſignalized themſelves during the uſurpation, was John Goodwin, the Arminian leveller and fifth monarchy man; with whom muſt be joined his co-adjutant in the work of the miniſtry (for they both occupied one pulpit), the renowned Mr. Thomas Venner, no leſs eminent for the inſurrections which he raiſed, for the murders he committed, and for his horrible dying behaviour at the gallows, than for his ſkilfulneſs in hooping barrels (which was his proper trade), and for the ardour wherewith he propagated Arminianiſm.

Monarchy and the Church of England revived together, in (*l*) 1663. By the Church of England, I here mean, the frame and the forms of the Church: or, in other words, her hierarchy, diſcipline, worſhip, and revenues. Does the reader aſk, why I expreſs myſelf with ſuch preciſion and limitation? I would rather anſwer this queſtion, in the words of another, than in words of my own.—"Upon the Reſtoration, the Church, though ſhe ſtill retained her old ſubſcriptions and articles of faith, was found

(*l*) The following portrait of Charles II. though ſketched by a foreign hand, conveys a ſtriking likeneſs of that profane and libidinous tyrant. *Fuit is libidinis ſervus; ſacra ſuſque deque habens; Proteſtantis ſpeciem præ ſe ferens, ut ſecurius regnaret; ſed in extremis, ut quidem ferunt, pontificio ritu rem divinam fecit.* i. e. he was a drudge to luſt; a contemptuous diſregarder of every thing ſerious and ſacred; a Proteſtant in pretence, to ſecure himſelf on the throne; but, in his laſt moments, he ſo far threw off the maſque, as to receive the euchariſt, &c. after the manner preſcribed by the Popiſh ritual."—Joh. Alph. Turettini Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 403.

to

to have totally changed her ſpeculative principles (*m*)." That is, tho' the liturgy, articles, and homilies, were not weeded of their Calviniſm, yet, very many of the new clergy were tinged with Arminianiſm. To preſerve appearances, the old doctrines were permitted to keep their place in the printed ſtandards; but a great number of the new ſubſcribers had, in reality, ranged themſelves under a different banner.—Thus, no ſooner had the goodneſs of Divine Providence retrieved the Church from the hands of her declared enemies, than ſhe ſuffered by the doctrinal deſertion of her oſtenſible friends. Not that the deſertion then, any more than now, was univerſal. But thoſe who embraced that odd ſpecies of diſſenting conformity, known by the name of Arminianiſm, appear to have conſtituted the majority (*n*): and have done ſo, from that day to this.

IV. Let me now proceed to the ventilation of ſuch objections, raiſed againſt the doctrinal Calviniſm of the Church of England, as I have either omitted to confute, or have but lightly touched upon, in my former publications.

1. We are gravely told, by one Arminian after another, that the principles of our eſtabliſhed Church are, "not Calvinian, but Melancthonian." If this was true, what would the Arminians get by it! juſt nothing at all. For, as I have (*o*) elſewhere proved, Melancthon carried the doctrine of predeſtination to as high a pitch, as Luther and Calvin themſelves. Nor did he ever retract a ſingle ſyllable of what he wrote on that ſubject.

(*m*) Hume's Hiſt. 5. 573.

(*n*) 'Tis remarkable, that application was made to Charles the Second, to revive queen Elizabeth's order for placing Fox's Hiſtory of the Martyrs in the common halls of the archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, archdeacons, colleges, &c. To which requeſt, the crafty king ſeemed to ſmile aſſent. But he took care to leave the thing undone.——See Wood's Athen. I. 187.

(*o*) See my Tranſlation of Zanchius on Predeſtin.

But Melancthon, how orthodox ſoever, does not appear (and I have ſtudied theſe matters with as much attention, I believe, as any Arminian among us) to have had the leaſt hand, or the leaſt influence, directly or indirectly, on any part of the Engliſh Reformation. He was, for ought I have ever been able to find, no more concerned in fabricating the Church of England, than was Zoroaſter or Confucius. Let the Arminians prove the contrary, and we will weigh their proofs in the exacteſt balance of candour and attention.——I go ſtill farther; and add, ſo remote was Melancthon from being an Engliſh reformer, that I never yet heard of any church at all, whoſe reformation he was the inſtrument of effecting. I know, indeed, that he is generally numbered among the foreign reformers; but he ſeems to have that honour aſſigned him, more by the courteſy of ſome authors, than by virtue of hiſtorical fact. His framing the Augſburg Confeſſion, does not prove him a reformer: for that pacific department was committed to his care, by princes whoſe churches were already reformed to his hand. Nor did his pious endeavours to aſſiſt Herman, the archbiſhop of Cologne, in reforming that city, entitle him to the above name; for both the archbiſhop's efforts, and his own, proved entirely unſucceſsful.

As I am on the ſubject of Melancthon, I will digreſs into ſome other particulars concerning him.

Mr. Hume is abundantly too ſevere to the memory of that learned man, in numbering him among thoſe whom he impertinently traduces, as "wretched compoſers of metaphyſical polemics (*p*)." Melancthon, with all his ſuppoſed "wretchedneſs" of parts, had more ſolid knowledge, in his little finger, than Mr. Hume has of infidelity, from the crown of his head to the ſole of his foot. Add to which, that this

(*p*) Hiſt. vol. iv. p. 154.

cenſure,

cenſure, if admitted, would involve, not only the greateſt Chriſtian divines of all ages, but likewiſe more than half the philoſophers of antiquity: who dealt as much in "metaphyſics," and in "polemics," as any believing prieſt whatever. Beſides: who has dabbled more in "polemical metaphyſics," than Mr. Hume himſelf? and a metaphyſical polemiſt is a metaphyſical polemiſt, let his metaphyſics and his polemics be of what caſt they will. Moreover, the ſneer could not have fallen more wide of the mark: for no divine, of Melancthon's eminence, then living, had a leſs metaphyſical head, or dealt more ſparingly in polemics, than he. — — Let the ingenious declaimer read, before he declaims: and his concluſions will be leſs precipitant.

Amidſt all my juſt veneration for the name and memory of Melancthon, I muſt obſerve, that he poſſeſſed one quality, which threw no little ſhade on the luſtre of his virtues and of his talents. I mean, that timid, temporizing ſpirit, which, either through weakneſs of nerves, or weakneſs of faith, appears to have been the evil that moſt eaſily beſat him. Dr. Robertſon remarks, that, in 1550, after the artful buſineſs of the (*q*) Interim had been ſucceſsfully carried by the power and intrigues of the emperor Charles (a ſtep which he would not have found ſo eaſy, had the honeſt and courageous Luther been living); "Melancthon, now deprived of the manly counſels of Luther, which were wont to

(*q*) When diſputes ran high in Germany, between the advocates for Popery, and the patrons of the Reformation, Charles V. ordered a ſyſtem of theology to be drawn up, in which he required both parties to acquieſce, till a general council ſhould meet to ſettle the agitated controverſies. Hence the book itſelf was called, The Interim. It was firſt publiſhed, in the Diet of Augſburgh, May 15, 1548, and, tho' compoſed with much ſtudied ambiguity of expreſſion, in order to trepan the Proteſtants with greater facility, yet, almoſt every one of the Popiſh tenets was either expreſsly or virtually aſſerted in it. See Robertſon, vol. iii. p. 481.

inſpire him with fortitude, and to preſerve him ſteady amidſt the ſtorms and dangers that threatened the Church, was ſeduced into unwarrantable conceſſions, by the timidity of his temper, his fond deſire of peace, and his exceſſive complaiſance towards perſons of high rank (*r*)."

On this, as well as many other occaſions, throughout his life, Melancthon's complaiſance was indeed exceſſive, to a fault. The name Didymus, which he once aſſumed (when he publiſhed a tract under the roſe), ſuited but too well with that duplicity of conduct, which put him ſo often upon trimming and ſhuffling in the things which pertain to God. At bottom, his principles were ſound: and he (*s*) hated, in reality, the painful ambidexterouſneſs, wherewith he thought it prudent to balance between the friends and the enemies of the Reformation.

"All Europe was convinced, that Melancthon was not ſo averſe, as Luther, to an accommodation with the Romaniſts: and that he would have ſacrificed many things, for the ſake of peace (*t*)." Of this, Melancthon gave proof upon proof: but never more enormouſly, than at the Augſburgh conference, in 1530, when he appeared to be in an humour to ſacrifice, not only many things, but every thing, for the ſake of a coalition with the Church of Rome. He agreed, "That men ſhould not be ſaid to be juſtified by faith alone, but by faith and grace [i. e. by faith and inherent grace or holineſs]: That good works are neceſſary [viz. to juſtification]: That reprobates are included in the Church: That man hath a free-will: That the bleſſed ſaints intercede for us, and may be honoured: That the body and blood of Chriſt are contained in both elements: That thoſe of the laity are not to be condemned, who receive the euchariſt only under one kind:

(*r*) Robertſon's Hiſt. of Charles V. vol. iv. p. 16.
(*s*) See Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 408.
(*t*) Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, p. 103. from Bayle.

That

That the uſual veneration ſhould be given to the holy ſacrament: That maſs ſhould be publicly celebrated with the uſual ceremonies: That the Popiſh biſhops ſhould hold their antient juriſdictions: and that the pariſh prieſts ſhould poſſeſs a power of excommunication, and be ſubject, in ſpiritual matters, to the ſaid Roman biſhops (*u*)."

This was "ſacrificing," with a witneſs. But, it ſeems, the good man would have ſacrificed ſtill more, if Luther and the other Proteſtants, by whoſe commiſſion he [Melancthon] treated with the Romiſh divines, had not taken fire at the extravagant conceſſions already made, and reſtrained him from going on. "Melancthon, who was very much inclined to peace" [i. e. to patch up a peace with the Church of Rome, by allowing her every point ſhe wanted], "might have come nearer, if he had been inveſted with ample powers. But the rigid Proteſtants had been diſſatisfied with his condeſcenſions, and ordered him to advance no farther (*x*)."—Thus acted the man, who declared himſelf to be, what he moſt certainly was in his heart, ſo convinced "of the truth of Luther's doctrine," that he "would never forſake it (*y*)!" Nor does it appear, that he ever did inwardly forſake the doctrine of Luther. But can I commend him for his puſillanimous flexibility, which induced him to curry human favour, at the expence of divine truth; and for ſtraining his own conſcience, in order to ſhake hands with Rome? I commend him not.

Take another inſtance of his ductility. "Melancthon was conſulted, upon the divorce which Henry VIII. was determined to have againſt Catharine of Spain: and he gave his opinion, that the law in Leviticus is diſpenſable, and that the marriage [viz. the king's marriage with his brother's widow] might be lawful; and that, in theſe mat-

(*u*) Rolt, Ibid. p. 106. (*x*) Rolt, Ibid. (*y*) Ibid. p. 102.

ters, ſtates and princes might make what laws they pleaſed (z)." Throw this artful piece of court-caſuiſtry which way you will, 'twill pitch upon its legs, and ſtand plum upon all-four. It told Henry, in effect, that he might either retain his conjugal ſiſter, or put her away, juſt as appetite ſhould ſerve. For what was paſt, his majeſty had incurred no ſin: becauſe, in theſe matters, the law of God may be diſpenſed with by princes. And, as to the future, if the king did not chuſe to perſiſt in exerting his right to diſpenſe with God's law, he might at any time rid himſelf of a ſtale wife, by giving her a bill of divorcement. Such was Melancthon's "exceſſive complaiſance to perſons of high rank!"

The advice he gave to Œcolampadius, bore the ſame impreſs of artifice and duplicity. The Lutherans and the Zuinglians differed, concerning the nature of the holy ſacrament. The former ſuppoſed, that the real body and blood of Chriſt were conſubſtantiated with the elements, tho' the elements were not tranſ-ſubſtantiated into the real body and blood: but that both ſubſiſted together, as fire ſubſiſts in and with a red-hot iron. The Zuinglians, on the other hand, believed, that the conſecrated ſymbols were no more than a merely commemorative repreſentation. A conference was opened, upon this matter, between ſome divines of each party. Œcolampadius wrote to Melancthon, requeſting him to terminate the diſpute, by declaring himſelf in favour of the Zuinglian opinion. Obſerve Melancthon's anſwer. "I cannot approve the opinion of the Sacramentarians; but, if you would act politicly, you ſhould ſpeak otherwiſe: for, you know, there are many learned men among them, whoſe friendſhip would be advantageous to me (a)."

Luther could never bring himſelf to hunt with the hound and run with the hare. He was formed of materials too heroic, not to abhor colluſion, and

(z) Rolt, Ibid, p. 107. (a) Rolt, p. 104.

all

all its narrow, ſkulking arts. Hence, he often rallied Melancthon, and ſometimes chide him in terms of ſeverity, for his religious cowardice. Theſe friendly ſtimulations rouſed and quickened Melancthon, for a ſhort while: but he ſoon relapſed into Melancthon again.

Let a man eſpouſe what ſyſtem he will, he muſt unavoidably diſpleaſe ſome party or other. But the man, who affects to adopt ſuch a ſyſtem, as may render him obnoxious to no party whatever, very rarely acquires that meaſure of eſteem, from any, which he fondly expects to receive from all. Melancthon hoped, that his extreme moderation would have exempted him entirely from the feuds of enmity and oppoſition. But he was diſappointed: and the diſappointment had an unfavourable effect on his ſpirits. In angling, with ſo much anxiety, for univerſal applauſe, he incurred that ſuſpicion, which is the uſual reward of irreſolute fluctuation. A great part of the Proteſtants diſliked him, for not ſeeming Proteſtant enough: and moſt of the Papiſts hated him, for not being ſufficiently Popiſh. The conſequence was, that he led a very uneaſy life, between the two.

"Nature," ſays Monſieur Bayle, "which gave Melancthon a peaceable temper, made him a preſent ill ſuited with the time in which he was to live. He was like a lamb in the midſt of wolves. His moderation ſerved only to be his croſs. No body liked his mildneſs (*b*)."——"He was never out of danger: but might truly be ſaid, through fear, to be all his life-time ſubject to bondage. Thus he declared, in one of his works, that he had held his profeſſor's place [at Wittenburg] forty years, without being ever ſure that he ſhould not be turned out of it before the end of the week (*c*)." Ho-

(*b*) Hiſt. Dict. vol. iv. p. 187.
(*c*) Biograph. Dict. vol. viii. p. 325.

neſty is the beſt policy. Who would wiſh, by diſguiſing his ſentiments, to tread the artificial and painful path of the trimming Melancthon?

Notwithſtanding his acknowledged defect of courage, he yet ventured to aſſert the ſtrongeſt predeſtination. A learned (*d*) Papiſt even goes ſo far as to charge Calvin himſelf with borrowing ſome of the arguments, by which he ſupports that doctrine, from Melancthon. This accuſation, tho' falſe, ſhews the agreement, which ſubſiſted between thoſe two divines, upon that important article.

Our own biſhop Davenant, who was a conſummate judge of theſe matters, obſerves, that "Melancthon took offence at the manner of delivering the doctrine of predeſtination and reprobation, inſiſted on by ſome: but, for the ſubſtance of doctrine, he acknowledged his agreement with Calvin. That men muſt come to the knowledge of their election, from their faith and holy life, was Melancthon's opinion: but that their foreſeen faith and holineſs, was the cauſe, or condition, or motive, upon which God founded his decree of election, was far from his mind (*e*)." We are reminded, by a later writer than the good biſhop, that Calvin condeſcended to dedicate his Treatiſe, againſt Pighius, to Melancthon: for which token of Calvin's friendſhip, Melancthon warmly expreſſed his gratitude. "Mr. Calvin confirmed his own [flock] at home, and ſtrongly oppoſed his adverſaries abroad: publiſhing his four books about Free-will, which he dedicated to Philip Melancthon; againſt Albert Pighius, the greateſt ſophiſter of the age, and who had ſingled out Calvin for his antagoniſt, being promiſed a cardinal's hat if he could carry the victory. But [Pighius] being fruſtrated of his labour, he got that, which the enemies of truth only deſerve, viz. that

(*d*) Spondanus. See Bayle, vol. ii. p. 272.
(*e*) Biſhop Davenant againſt Hoord, p. 72.

he

he ſtank amongſt learned and good men, himſelf being deceived by the Devil. How much Melancthon eſteemed thoſe books of Mr. Calvin, himſelf teſtifies in his epiſtles which are in print (*f*)."

Melancthon, as well as Calvin, was a (*g*) Sublapſarian. In thoſe times, Arminianiſm was a term utterly unknown in the Chriſtian Church. Melancthon died, A. D. 1560, i. e. the ſame year, in which Arminius was born. The enemies of grace were then termed Pelagians and Semipelagians.

Melancthon had an elegant genius, cultivated by intenſe application. His piety was elevated, his learning profound, and his uſefulneſs very conſiderable. Could he have got the better of that unhappy diffidence, which was perpetually betraying him into inconſiſtencies, and hampering him with perplexities, he might have been claſſed with the greateſt of mankind. Among his other friends, Zanchius, with much tenderneſs and delicacy, warned him of the danger to which his capital deficiency expoſed him. "*Non dubitant pii*," ſaid that great man, in one of his letters to Melancthon, "*de tuâ eximiâ eruditione, et ſingulari pietate; tantùm hoc precamur omnes, donet te, virum alioquì fortem, majori etiam ſpiritûs fortitudine Deus. Vide, quàm familiaritèr ego, omnium minimus, tui tamen inter omnes obſervantiſſimus, tecum loquor, eximie & doctiſſime Philippe* (*h*). i. e. All good men unite in acknowledging your uncommon learn-

(*f*) Clark's Marrow of Hiſt. p. 293.

(*g*) "Reformatores noſtri, ut verbum etiam de iis addamus, D. Auguſtini de gratiâ & predeſtinatione ſententiam penè omnes ſequebantur; quam & crudiùs nonnunquam tradebant; ut ex Lutheri, de ſervo arbitrio, multiſque Zuinglii & Calvini, locis, conſtare poteſt. Quin & fuerunt, qui ad rigidiſſima Supralapſariorium placita (quibus electio & reprobatio, in decretis divinis, ſupra hominis lapſum ſtatuuntur) procedere haud dubitarent; ut Beza & Zanchius: ad mitiora deflexit Melancthon."——J. A. Turettini Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 328. ——Let me juſt hint, that this learned man is miſtaken, in placing Zanchius on the liſt of Supralapſarians.

(*h*) Zanchii, Opera, tom. viii. p. 148.

ing

ing and piety. But it is no leſs true, that we likewiſe unite, in beſeeching God to endue you with a larger portion of courage and boldneſs. See, how free the leaſt conſiderable, but not the leaſt reſpectful, of your friends, ventures to make with you!"

Envy is, perhaps, not often honoured with reſidence in ſo valuable a mind as that of Melancthon. At the very time, however, when his intimacy with Luther was at its height, he ſeems to have viewed the aſcendency, which that reformer had acquired among Proteſtants, with jealouſy and pain. I wiſh the following incident could be reaſonably aſcribed to a leſs ungenerous principle. "Melancthon often exhorted Bucer, not to yield ſo much to Luther (*i*)." He ſeems to have re-iterated this ſecret exhortation, not only by word of mouth, but alſo by letter: and Bucer, wearied and diſguſted with Melancthon's teizings, ſeems to have at laſt communicated the matter to Luther himſelf. So at leaſt I conjecture, from the aſpect of what follows: "He [i. e. Melancthon] himſelf writes, that Luther was ſo enraged againſt him, about a letter, received from Bucer, that he [Melancthon] thought of nothing but withdrawing himſelf forever from Luther's preſence. He lived under ſuch continual conſtraint from Luther, &c. and was ſo oppreſſed with labour and vexation, that, being quite ſpent, he wrote to his friend Camerarius: I am in bondage, as if I were in the cave of the Cyclop (for I cannot diſguiſe my ſentiments to you), and I have often thoughts of making my eſcape (*k*)." At one time, he entertained the romantic deſign of retiring into the Holy Land, and of ſpending the remainder of his days in the identical caverns formerly occupied by St. Jerom (*l*). But, the ſtorm abating, that whimſical ſcheme ſubſided with it.

(*i*) Bayle, vol. iv. p. 190. (*k*) Bayle, Ibid. 191.
(*l*) Ibid. p. 188.

Is

Is it not very extraordinary, that a perſon, of Melancthon's tender ſpirits and goodneſs of heart, ſhould juſtify and applaud the magiſtrates of Geneva, for puniſhing Servetus's religious miſtakes with death? "They acted right," ſays Melancthon, "in bringing that blaſphemer to the ſtake, after having firſt granted him the privilege of a fair trial (*m*)." Alas, what is man!

No leſs inconſiſtent were Melancthon's nibblings at the doctrine of fate, in the ſenſe wherein that doctrine was held by ſome Stoics. The aſtrological fate, or a deſtiny reſulting from the poſitions and influence of the planets, is a very abſurd, and a very prophane tenet. Melancthon would have done rightly, in entering his caveat againſt it, had his caveat been ſincere. But, even here, he acted with his uſual diſſimulation. In his heart, he leaned very ſtrongly toward that exceptionable ſpecies of illegitimate fatality. "I will obſerve," ſays Bayle, "that he [Melancthon] was credulous, as to prodigies, aſtrology, and dreams, (*n*)." Mr. Rolt adds, "from Melancthon's Epiſtles it may be obſerved, that he was a believer in judicial aſtrology, a caſter of nativities, and an interpreter of dreams. Strange weakneſs, in ſo great a man! (*o*)—So far, therefore, was he from really denying predeſtination and fate, that he held thoſe doctrines, even to exceſs: i. e. in the moſt irrational, gloomy, and ſuperſtitious point of view, in which it is poſſible for the human mind to entertain them.

The reformers were, however, ſenſible of Melancthon's well-meaning piety, though the ſtrange mixture and variegation of his ſpiritual complection made them often at a loſs how to deal with him.

——— *Each finding, as a friend,*
Something to blame, and ſomething to commend.

(*m*) "Melancthon *magiſtratus Genevenſes rectè feciſſe* affirmat, *quòd hominem blaſphemum, re ordine judicatâ, interfecerint.*"——Turretini (Fran.) Inſtitutionis, Theologiæ, vol. iii. p. 374. Edit. Lugd. 1696.

(*n*) Vol. iv. p. 187. (*o*) Lives of the Ref. p. 111.

Luther

Luther had a very great regard for him, but perceived it needful, both to refrain him, and to ſpur him on, as occaſion required. Calvin held him in conſiderable eſtimation, and treated him with the moſt benevolent tenderneſs. He was alſo honoured with the correſpondence of archbiſhop Cranmer; who conceived a favourable idea of his learning and humility. But they, who inſinuate, that he [Melancthon] was concerned with that prelate in reforming the Church of England, ſeem to have advanced a conjecture totally unwarranted by a ſingle grain of proof. I can find no more than two occaſions, on which he was invited into England (but they were only invitations, for he never came); namely, in (*p*) the reign of Henry VIII. whom he had pleaſed to the life, by his gentle caſuiſtry concerning that monarch's divorce; and again, a little before the death of Edward VI. who intended to have given him a quiet retreat in England from his troubles in Germany, by fixing him at Cambridge, after the death of Bucer (*q*). But when the firſt invitation was given him, Henry had no deſign to reform (nor did he, to his dying day, reform) the doctrinal ſyſtem of the Church. And, when the ſecond invitation was ſignified to Melancthon, the Church had been reformed already, by the care of king Edward, the duke of Somerſet, Cranmer, Ridley, Bucer, Martyr, Calvin, and others. Certain it is, that Zanchius was actually invited hither, in due ſeaſon, "to aſſiſt in carrying on the Reformation (*r*):" and that the reformers of our Church were diſappointed of his help, by his preferring a ſettlement at Straſbourg; the divinity-chair of that city being offered him, while he was on his journey towards this kingdom (*s*).

(*p*) Strype's Eccleſ. Memor. vol. i. p. 231, 232. (*q*) Ibid. vol. ii. p. 401, 402. (*r*) See Hickman, u. ſ. p. 151.
(*s*) See my Life of Zanchius.

2. It

2. It is objected, againſt the Calviniſm of our eſtabliſhed Church, that "in ſeveral parts of the liturgy, &c. ſhe herſelf ſeems to ſpeak the language of Arminius."—Impoſſible! for the Church (as we have already obſerved) having been reformed and eſtabliſhed, long enough before Arminius exiſted, ſhe can never be ſuppoſed to have borrowed either her ſentiments, or her language, from a man who was then unborn.

A number of paſſages have been amaſſed, by ſome deſpairing Arminians, in order to prove, from the liturgy and homilies themſelves, that the Church of England is but a ſort of ſhoot from the Arminian ſtock. The paſſages, however, are no more to the purpoſe, than if they were alledged to prove that queen Elizabeth was Adam's wife and the mother of all mankind. Notwithſtanding this, I have given each of them a diſtinct conſideration, in a pamphlet, which has long lain by me; and which ſhall be committed to the preſs, whenever the indulgence of the public ſhall call for its appearance. In the mean while, I ſhall weigh two paſſages, which are urged with great triumph, and not without ſome colour of ſeeming plauſibility, by Mr. John Weſley and Co.

The firſt of theſe two citations is ſelected from the liturgy: where, in the communion ſervice, the officiating miniſter, at the delivery of the holy elements, ſays, to every receiver, "The body of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was given for thee:" and, "the blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was ſhed for thee."——Does not this look ſomething like abſolutely univerſal redemption? Not, when ſoberly conſidered: unleſs it could be proved, that every individual of the whole human race, from Adam to the laſt of mankind, have been, are, and will be, communicants in the Church of England. —"Oh, but it proves that all, who do ſo communicate, are, in her judgement, redeemed by Chriſt." Granted. And why does ſhe ſuppoſe them redeem-

ed?

ed? Even becauſe ſhe invites none to the Lord's table, but thoſe, who do, "truly and earneſtly repent them of their ſins, and are in love and charity with their neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways (*t*)." As, therefore, the Church takes for granted, that all, who preſent themſelves at that ſolemn ordinance, are partakers of theſe graces, ſhe very conſiſtently infers, that they are likewiſe all redeemed by the blood of Chriſt: for who can queſtion the redemption of penitents and ſaints? "Oh, but there is reaſon to believe, that all communicants are not penitents and ſaints." Whether they are, or are not, muſt be left to the deciſion of God. It is enough to the preſent point, that the Church deſcribes the redeemed of the Lord under the characters of penitent and holy: and, thereby (in exact harmony with Scripture), virtually excludes, from a viſible intereſt in Chriſt's redemption, thoſe who do not repent and obey. For each converted and ſanctified receiver, the Church affirms that the "body of Chriſt was given," and, "the blood of Chriſt was ſhed." What is this but ſaying, by neceſſary conſequence, that we have no right to extend the death of Chriſt to ſuch perſons, as are not converted and ſanctified? So that the very words themſelves, of the adminiſtration, are a proof, not of an unlimited, but of an exceedingly reſtrictive, redemption.

The ſecond quotation is taken from one of the homilies, "In the homily of Almſdoing," ſay Weſley and Sellon, "there is this apocryphal text, that alms make an atonement for ſins."——I know not what adequate atonement theſe two Arminians can make to the Church, for the ſlander and falſehood of that inſinuation, which they mean to convey, under the

(*t*) Exhortation, before the celebration of the bleſſed ſacrament.

cover

cover of this remark. Let us consult the homily itself: and its import will be found, not only quite innocent of Arminianism, but positively orthodox, and most highly Calvinistic.

"Ye shall understand, dearly beloved, that neither those places of the Scripture, before alledged; neither the doctrine of the blessed martyr Cyprian; neither any other godly and learned man; when they, in extolling the dignity, profit, fruit, and effect of virtuous and liberal alms, do say that it washeth away sins, and bringeth us to the favour of God, do mean that our work and charitable deeds are the original cause of our acceptation before God, or that, for the dignity or worthiness thereof, our sins may be washed away, and we purged and cleansed of all the spots of our iniquity: for that were indeed to deface Christ, and to defraud him of his glory. But they mean this, and this is the understanding of those and such-like sayings: that God, of his mercy and special favour towards them whom he hath appointed to everlasting salvation, hath so offered his grace especially, and they have so received it fruitfully, that although, by reason of their sinful living, they seemed before to have been the children of wrath and perdition; yet, now, the spirit of God mightily working in them unto obedience to God's will and commandments, they declare, by their outward deeds and life, in the shewing of mercy and charity (which cannot come, but of the spirit of God and his especial grace), that they are the undoubted children of God, appointed to everlasting life. And so, as, by their wickedness and ungodly living" [viz. before they were converted], "they shewed themselves, according to the judgment of men which follow the outward appearance, to be reprobates and cast-aways; so now, by their obedience unto God's holy will, and by their mercifulness and tender pity (wherein they shew themselves to be like unto God, who is the fountain and

and ſpring of mercy), they declare, openly and manifeſtly to the ſight of men, that they are the ſons of God, and elect of him unto ſalvation. For as the good fruit is not the cauſe that the tree is good, but the tree muſt firſt be good before it can bring forth good fruit; ſo the good deeds of man are not the cauſe that maketh man good: but he is firſt made good, by the ſpirit and grace of God, that effectually worketh in him; and afterward he bringeth forth good fruits. And then, as the good fruit doth argue the goodneſs of the tree; ſo doth the good and merciful deed of the man argue and certainly prove the goodneſs of him that doth it: according to Chriſt's ſaying, Ye ſhall know them by their fruits (*u*)."

If the Church had not thus explained her own meaning, Meſſrs. Weſley and Sellon might have had ſome ſeeming foundation for inſinuating that the homily aſſerts the propitiatory merit of almſgiving. But as ſhe, ſo largely and ſo expreſsly, defines the ſenſe in which ſhe admits the juſtifying power of that good work; the above pair of Arminian defamers are abſolutely inexcuſable for their groſs and wilful violation of juſtice and truth, in laying, to the charge of the Church, things which ſhe knoweth not (*x*).

3. It is

(*u*) Homily on Almſdeeds, part II. p. 160, 161. Edit. 1640.

(*x*) From the pitiable ignorance, which diſtinguiſhes the complexion of the following remark, I am diſpoſed to believe, that the remark itſelf is of Mr. Sellon's own fabrication, unaided by the co-adjutorſhip of his domineering help-mate, Mr. John Weſley.——The remark is this: that the Church of England affirms univerſal redemption, in ſaying, that "Chriſt offered himſelf once for all upon the altar of the croſs." Now, I hereby inform Mr. Sellon (as Mr. Weſley ought to have done before the bolt was ſhot), that the Church of England took that phraſe [viz. "once for all"] from the Epiſtle to the Hebrews: where the original word is, ἐφάπαξ, which ſignifies, once only, or irrepeatably; and means, that Chriſt ſo offered himſelf in ſacrifice, as never to be offered up again: he poured out his ſoul unto death, for the firſt, and for the laſt time.

Would

3. It is objected, that the Calviniſtic doctrines are Puritanic; and were tenaciouſly held by many, who oppoſed the eſtabliſhed hierarchy.

I anſwer: that the term Puritan, belonged, in its primary application, to thoſe perſons, and to thoſe perſons alone, who diſſented from the government, the diſcipline, and the ceremonies, of the Church of England. This will never be controverted, by any, who are at all acquainted with the hiſtory of Elizabeth's reign, in whoſe time that word (Puritan) was firſt coined. Nor was it ever applied to Churchmen themſelves, 'till about two years before the death of king James the firſt: when a temporizing Italian Papiſt [viz. Antony de Dominis, once archbiſhop of Spalato] craftily endeavoured to transfer the name, from Proteſtant Diſſenters, to ſuch members of the eſtabliſhed Church as were enemies to regal tyranny, and to the new doctrines of Arminius (*y*). In the ſucceeding reign of Charles, Laud kept up the ball which De Dominis had raiſed: and, by degrees, every conſcientious ſon of the Church, who was Proteſtant enough to maintain her doctrines; and Engliſh-man enough to ſupport the civil conſtitution of the kingdom; was, at court, treated as a Puritan.

Wilſon develope the whole matter, with great fidelity, under the year 1622. "This animoſity of the king's [viz. of king James I.] againſt the (real) Puritans, was thought to be fomented by the Papiſts, whoſe agent biſhop Laud was ſuſpected to be; though in religion, he had a motley form by himſelf, and would never (as a prieſt plainly told

Would politeneſs give leave, I might farther explain the import of the term ἅπαξ, or once for all, by addreſſing Mr. Sellon thus: 'Be it known, once for all, that you are a moſt wretched and contemptible ignoramus.'—But rather let me adviſe Mr. Weſley, once for all, not to expoſe his own cauſe again, by entruſting the management of it to ſuch a very illiterate advocate.

(*y*) See Fuller's Church Hiſt. book x. p. 99, 100.

me in Flanders) bring his neck under the obedience of the Roman yoke, though he might ſtickle for the grandeur of the clergy. And now he began to be Buckingham's confeſſor (as he expreſſeth in his own notes), and wore the court livery: though the king had a ſufficient character of him, and was pleaſed, with aſſeveration, to proteſt his [viz. Laud's] incentive ſpirit ſhould be kept under, that the flame ſhould not break out by any preferment from him. But that was now forgotten in ſome meaſure: and he crept ſo into favour, that he was thought to be the bellows that blew theſe fires. For the Papiſts uſed all the artifices they could, to make a breach between the king and his people; that they might enter at the ſame, for their own ends. Which to accompliſh, they ſlily cloſed with the chief miniſters of ſtate, to put the king upon all his projects and monopolies diſpleaſing to the people, that they might the more alienate their affections from him: ſowing their ſeeds of diviſion alſo betwixt Puritan and Proteſtant; ſo that (like the ſecond commandment) they quite excluded the Proteſtant [under the falſe idea of Puritaniſm]: for all thoſe were Puritans, with this high-grown Arminian-Popiſh party, that held in judgment the doctrine of the reformed Churches, or in practice lived according to the doctrine publicly taught in the Church of England (z)."

To ſuch an height did the court-madneſs ariſe, that all were ſuppoſed to be tinctured with Puritaniſm, who did not flatter James even to blaſphemy. "It was too apparent, that ſome of the clergy, to make the way the ſmoother to their wiſhed end, began ſo to adore the king, that he could not be named, but more reverence was done to it, than to the name of God: and the judges, in their itinerant circuits, the more to enſlave the people to obe-

(z) Wilſon, apud Kennet's Compl. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 753.

dience,

dience, being to ſpeak of the king, would give him ſuch ſacred and oraculous titles, as if their advancement to higher places muſt neceſſarily be laid upon the foundation of the people's debaſement (*a*)."

Hear what the wiſe and upright archbiſhop Uſher told king Charles the firſt, to his face, from the pulpit, in 1627. "I ſee, that thoſe, who will not yield to that new doctrine which hath diſturbed the Low Countries" [i. e. who will not embrace Arminianiſm], "there is an odious name caſt upon them, and they are counted Puritans: which is a thing tending to diſſention. We know who are eſteemed by Chriſt: and were it not a vile thing, to term him a Puritan?—And king James maintained the ſame" [viz. the ſame Calviniſtic doctrines which the Church of England has adopted]: "and ſhall thoſe be counted ſo" [i. e. be counted Puritans], "who confeſs thoſe points which he maintained? Do not think I ſpeak any thing, as being hired on any ſide. But I foreſee, that the forecaſting of that name, upon thoſe who maintain the doctrine publiſhed by the pen of our (late) ſovereign, will prove a means for the diſturbing of our peace.——I will not deny, but confeſs, that, in thoſe five points which diſturb the Low Countries, I am in the mind of my ſovereign. I am not aſhamed to confeſs it: nor never will be.——And I do here profeſs before God, that if I were an Arminian, and did hold thoſe five points which have cauſed thoſe troubles in the Low Countries, and is like to cauſe them here among us; the caſe ſtanding as it doth, that the greateſt number of the prophets blow their horns another way; I hold I were bound in conſcience to hold my peace, and keep my knowledge to myſelf, rather than, by my unſeaſonable uttering of it, to diſturb the peace of the Church.—This is the laſt time I ſhall be called to this place: Therefore, I will leave this

(*a*) Wilſon, Ibid.

advice; which if it be neglected, peradventure it will be too late eaſily to ſtop things (*b*)."——— Obſerve here, 1. That, in this prelate's judgment, king James lived and died a doctrinal Calviniſt.—2. That Calviniſm was a thing as eſſentially different from Puritaniſm, as light from darkneſs.——3. That if the belief of the Calvinian doctrines be puritanic, it would follow, that Chriſt himſelf was a Puritan.—4. The good archbiſhop was not aſhamed to avow thoſe doctrines, in the preſence of king Charles and of his Arminian court.—5. As he is ſaid to have foretold the maſſacre of the Iriſh Proteſtants, ſo, in the above diſcourſe, he as plainly predicted the civil wars which, many years after, actually enſued.—6. We have his grace's explicit teſtimony, that, even in the reign of Charles the firſt, "the greateſt number" of the eſtabliſhed clergy "blew their horns," i. e. preached and publiſhed, not in the Arminian ſtrain, but quite "another way," though in direct oppoſition to the wind and tide of court encouragement.—7. He was ſenſible that, for his honeſty and faithful dealing, this was "the laſt time" he ſhould ever be aſked to preach before the king: he therefore reſolved to make, and make he did, the moſt of that laſt opportunity, by giving his majeſty ſome very wholeſome, tho' not very palatable, "advice." Which advice had the king uniformly followed, he had, probably, ſaved the Church from ruin, the three kingdoms from deſtruction, and his own head from the axe.—8. The archbiſhop's integrity is more to be admired, as the king's declaration, for impoſing ſilence on preachers touching the points in diſpute, had been publiſhed ſo lately as the year before the above ſermon was delivered. The heroic prelate thought it right, to obey God, rather than man.

(*b*) Archbiſhop Uſher's Sermon on 1 Cor. xiv. 33. Preached before the king, at Greenwich, June 27, 1627. Annexed to the folio edition of his Body of Divinity, Lond. 1678.—p. 183, 184.

After

" After all, what if the Puritans themſelves, truly and properly ſo called, ſhould be found to have been diſſenters, not from the doctrines, but merely and ſolely from the rites and regimen, of the Church of England? That this was actually and literally the caſe, i. e. that the Puritans (in the reigns of Elizabeth and the firſt James) cordially approved the furniture, tho' they diſreliſhed the fabric, of our excellent eccleſiaſtical houſe; appears from the moſt concluſive and incontrovertible evidence.

On this ſubject, archbiſhop Hutton thus expreſſed himſelf, in 1604. " The Puritans, whoſe fantaſtical zeal I miſlike, tho' they differ in ceremonies and accidents, yet they agree with us in ſubſtance of religion (*c*)."

" People of the ſame country," ſays Mr. Nicolas Tindal, " of the ſame religion, and of the ſame judgment and doctrine, parted communion on account of a few habits and ceremonies (*d*)." According to this hiſtorian, the very Browniſts themſelves, tho' they bear the character of having been the moſt rigid and intractable of all the then Separatiſts, were one with the Church, in matters of doctrine, " The Browniſts did not differ from the Church, in any doctrinal points (*e*)." With the ſuperficial Mr. Tindal agrees the profound and laborious Mr. Chambers: " The occaſion of their [i. e. of the Browniſts,] ſeparation, was, not any fault they found with the faith, but only with the diſcipline and form of government, of the other Churches in England (*f*)."

Even Peter Heylyn found himſelf conſtrained to draw a line between Calviniſts and Puritans. And thus he draws it. " I muſt needs ſay, the name of doctrinal Puritaniſm is not very ancient.—Nor am I

(*c*) See Strype's Life of Whitgift, Append. No. 50. p. 247.
(*d*) Contin. of Rapin's Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 217.—Edit. quæ pr.
(*e*) Tindal, Ibid. (*f*) Chambers's Dict. on the word Browniſts.

of opinion, that Puritan and Calvinian are terms convertible. For though all Puritans are Calvinians, both in doctrine and practice; yet, all Calvinians are not to be counted as Puritans alſo: whoſe practices [i. e. the practices of the Puritans] many of them [i. e. many of the Calviniſts] abhor, and whoſe inconformities they deteſt (*g*)."

A writer, whoſe portmanteau Heylyn was not worthy to carry, ſhall clinch the preſent nail of evidence. I mean the very reſpectable biſhop Saunderſon: who affirms, that to charge Calviniſts with Puritaniſm, is a "moſt unjuſt and uncharitable courſe;" whereby, his lordſhip thought the Arminians had "prevailed more, than by all the reſt [of their artifices], in ſeeking to draw the perſons, of thoſe that diſſent from them, into diſlike with the State, as if they were Puritans, or diſciplinarians, or, at leaſt, that way affected. Whereas," adds this judicious prelate, "1. The queſtions in debate are ſuch, as no way touch upon Puritaniſm, either off or on. —2. Many of the [Calviniſts] have as freely and clearly declared their judgments, by preaching and writing againſt all Puritaniſm and puritanical principles, as the ſtouteſt Arminian in England hath done.——Could that bleſſed archbiſhop Whitgift, or the modeſt and learned Hooker, have ever thought, ſo much as by dream, that men, concurring with them in opinion, ſhould, for ſome of theſe very opinions, be called Puritans (*h*)?"—I hope we ſhall hear no more of the puritanic tendency of Calviniſm.

4. Another falſe and ſhameleſs objection againſt theſe doctrines, is, that they are "unfavourable to loyalty." But no inſinuation can be more abominably unjuſt. We aſſert, with Scripture, that the powers which be, are ordained of God: conſequently, we cannot be diſloyal, without flying in

(*g*) Life of Laud, p. 119. (*h*) Biſhop Saunderſon's Pax Eccleſiæ: p. 63, 64.

th:

the face of that very predeſtination and Providence, for which we ſo zealouſly contend. A ſpur, this, to civil obedience, which Arminianiſm muſt forever want.

From innumerable proofs, I ſelect one very pertinent and remarkable inſtance. Let us contraſt the loyalty of the Calviniſtic archbiſhop Uſher, with that of the Arminian ranter and fifth monarchy man John Goodwin.

"The execution of king Charles I. ſtruck archbiſhop Uſher with great horror. The counteſs of Peterborough's houſe, where the primate [Uſher] then lived, being juſt over againſt Charing-croſs, ſeveral of her gentlemen and ſervants went up to the leads of the houſe, from whence they could plainly ſee what was acting before Whitehall. As ſoon as his majeſty came upon the ſcaffold, ſome of the houſhold told the primate of it: and aſked him, whether he would ſee the king once more, before he was put to death? He was, at firſt, unwilling; but, at laſt, went up: where, as the ceremonial advanced, the primate grew more and more affected; and, when the executioners in vizards began to put up the king's hair, the archbiſhop grew pale, and would have fainted, if he had not been immediately carried off (*i*)."

Very different was that tragical incident reliſhed by Goodwin the free-will man. I have proved, in a foregoing part of this work (*k*), that he conſidered all "kingſhip, as the great antichriſt:" and, in perfect conſiſtency with this mad and deteſtable principle, he "not only juſtified putting the king to death, but magnified it as the glorioufeſt action men were capable of. What half killed the moſt reverend Calviniſt of Armagh, made the heart of that irreverend free-will man of Coleman-ſtreet to leap for joy. Loyal Uſher began to ſwoon, at the ſight of majeſty

(*i*) Biog. Dict. vol. xi. p. 338. (*k*) Introduction, p. xxxix.

on a ſcaffold: but the Arminian rebel John Goodwin vindicated, and in folio too, the ſtroke of that nefarious axe which deprived majeſty of life.

A ſingle queſtion and anſwer ſhall, for the preſent, wind up the topic of loyalty.—Whom did Providence honour with being the auſpicious inſtrument of entailing the Britiſh crown on the houſe of the amiable and illuſtrious monarch who now adorns the throne? His Calviniſtic majeſty king William III.

5. "Oh, but Calvin himſelf pronounces the decree of reprobation, an horrible decree."—I know not which exceeds: Mr. Sellon's ignorance, or Mr. Weſley's diſingenuity. Calvin no where ſtiles "reprobation," an "horrible decree." Theſe two Arminians, therefore, are, in plain Engliſh, a pair of horrible liars.

It is in treating of God's determination to permit the fall of Adam, that Calvin ſays, *Decretum quidem horribile fateor; inficiari tamen nemo poterit, quin præſciverit Deus, quem exitum eſſet habiturus homo, antequam ipſum conderet (l).* i. e. "I acknowledge this decree to be an awful one: it is, however, undeniable, that, before the creation of man, God knew what the event of it would be."

I would willingly imagine, that Mr. Weſley is not ſo wretched a Latiniſt, as to believe, that he and his ſubaltern acted fairly, in rendering the word *horribilis*, as it ſtands in the above connection, by the Engliſh adjective horrible. Though there is a ſameneſs of ſound, there is no neceſſary ſameneſs of ſignification, in the two epithets. We have annexed a ſecondary idea, to the Engliſh words "horror" and "horrible;" which the Latin "*horror*" and "*horribilis*," do not always import. I ſhall give two or three inſtances: taking care, for the ſake of poor Mr. Sellon, to add Engliſh explanations of the Latin paſſages I bring.

(*l*) Calv. Inſtit. Lib. III. cap. xxiii. Sect. vii.

When

When Cicero ſays, *Horribile eſt, cauſam capitis dicere; horribilius, priore loco dicere (m):* is not this the meaning? "It is an awful undertaking, to plead a cauſe in which life and death are concerned; more awful ſtill, to be the firſt opener of ſuch a cauſe."—When Virgil (*n*) mentions the *horribilius iras* of Juno; what are we to underſtand, but the tremendous reſentment of the goddeſs?—The ſame Poet's (*o*) *horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbrâ*, muſt be rendered by, "the impending grove is dark with ſolemn ſhade." Similar (as Servius obſerved) is that of Lucan: *Arboribus ſuus horror ineſt* (*p*): i. e. "There is ſomething venerable in a grove of trees."—Nor did the noble and profoundly learned Daniel Heinſius uſe an improper term, when (ſpeaking of Julius Scaliger) he ſaid, *Cujus nomen ſine horrore et religione commemorare non poſſum* (*q*): i. e. "The very mention of his name ſtrikes a ſort of religious awe upon my mind."

Calvin, therefore, might well term God's adorable and inſcrutable purpoſe reſpecting the fall of man, *decretum horribile:* i. e. not an horrible, but an awful, a tremendous, and a venerable decree. A decree, the divine motives to which can never be inveſtigated by human reaſon, in its preſent benighted ſtate; and concerning which, we can only ſay, in the language of Scripture, How unſearchable are his judgments, and his ways paſt finding out!

(*m*) Orat. pro Quinct. (*n*) Hoc quondam monſtro horribiles exercuit iras inachiæ Juno peſtem meditata juvencæ. Geor. lib. iii. (*o*) Æneid. I. 169. (*p*) Pharſal. iii. (*q*) Heinſii Orat. i. in Obitum Joſ. Scal. p. 3.—Edit. Lugd. 1615.

TO

TO CONCLUDE.

FROM what has been obſerved, relative to the great Proteſtant doctrines, now diſtinguiſhed by the name of Calviniſtic; we may too eaſily perceive, how deeply, and how generally, we are revolted and gone from the religion of Jeſus Chriſt, or (which is the ſelf-ſame thing) from the ſpirit and principles of the religion eſtabliſhed in this land. What an ingenious writer remarks, is melancholy, becauſe true: "The Church of England are Predeſtinarians, by their articles; and preach free-will (*r*)." The greater the pity, and the greater the ſhame.

For this dreadful declenſion from the Scripture and from the Church, we are, partly, indebted, to that door of endleſs prevarication, opened, to the clergy, by biſhop Burnet, in what he entitles, his Expoſition of the XXXIX Articles: a performance, for which (notwithſtanding its merit in ſome reſpects) the Church of England is, upon the ſum total, under no very great obligation to his lordſhip's art and labour. It is true, that work is not ſo commonly nor ſo aſſiduouſly ſtudied, of late years, as it was half a century ago. Many of our divines have tender eyes: and, for fear of endangering thoſe valuable organs, by the peruſal of a formidable volume, chuſe to take matters upon truſt, and borrow the needful evaſions, *vivâ voce*, from one another. Even the lax theology of Tillotſon is almoſt grown obſolete.

(*r*) Letters on the Engliſh Nation, by Battiſta Angeloni; vol. ii. Letter 34. p. 60—Edit. 1755. This performance is, by ſome, aſcribed to Dr. Shebbeare.

Where

Where ſhall we ſtop? We have already forſook the good old paths, trod by Moſes and the prophets, and by Chriſt and the apoſtles: paths in which our own reformers alſo trod, our martyrs, our biſhops, our clergy, our univerſities, and the whole body of this Proteſtant, i. e. of this once Calviniſtic nation. Our liturgy, our articles, and our homilies, it is true, ſtill keep poſſeſſion of our church-walls: but we pray, we ſubſcribe, we aſſent, one way; we believe, we preach, we write, another. In the deſk, we are verbal Calviniſts: but no ſooner do we aſcend a few ſteps above the deſk, than we forget the grave character in which we appeared below, and tag the performance with a few minutes entertainment compiled from the fragments bequeathed to us by Pelagius and Arminius; not to ſay by Arius, Socinus, and by others ſtill worſe than they. Obſerve, I ſpeak not of all, indiſcriminately. We have many great and good men, ſome of whom are, and ſome of whom are not, Calviniſts. But, that the glory is, in a very conſiderable degree, departed from our eſtabliſhed Sion, is a truth which cannot be contravened, a fact which muſt be lamented, and an alarming ſymptom which ought to be publicly noticed.

In the opinion of the late Dr. Young, "almoſt every cottage can ſhew us one that has corrupted, and every palace one that has renounced the faith (*s*)." Are matters much mended, ſince that pious and reſpectable Arminian launched the above complaint? I fear not. Is there a ſingle hereſy, that ever annoyed the Chriſtian world, which has not its preſent partizans among thoſe who profeſs conformity to the Church of England? At what point our revoltings will end, God alone can tell. But this I affirm, without heſitation, and on the moſt meridian conviction, that Arminianiſm is the poiſonous wood, to which the waters of our national

(*s*) Centaur not fabul.

ſanctuary

ſanctuary are primarily indebted for all their embitterment. In particular, Arianiſm, Socinianiſm, practical Antinomianiſm, and infidelity itſelf, have all made their way through that breach, at which Arminianiſm entered before them. Nor will the (*t*) Proteſtant religion gain ground, or finally maintain the ground it has got; neither is it poſſible for the intereſts of morality itſelf to flouriſh; 'till the Arminian bondwoman and her ſons are caſt out: i. e. 'till the nominal members of our Church become real believers of its doctrines; and throw the exotic and corrupt ſyſtem of Van Harmin, with all its branches and appurtenances, to the moles and to the batts.

Let not my honoured brethren of the clergy deem me their enemy, becauſe I preſume to remind them of the truth. God is witneſs, that I wiſh you proſperity, ye that are of the houſe of the Lord. Permit the obſcureſt of your number to ſubmit, without offence, the foregoing particulars to your attentive conſideration. May none of your venerable order be juſtly ranked in time to come, among thoſe half-conformiſts, who fall in with the ceremonies, but fall out with the doctrines, of the Church. Halt not between God and Baal. Give no occaſion to our ad-

(*t*) In the reign of Elizabeth, a pamphlet appeared, entitled, The Book of the Generation of Antichriſt: written, indeed, by a very acrimonious Puritan; yet, as far as matters of mere doctrine were concerned, perfectly harmonizing with the creed of the Church of England. Among other particulars, the author, with equal humour and truth, traced out the following genealogy of free-will, merit, unholy living, and Popery. "The Devil begot Darkneſs, Eph. vi.—Darkneſs begot Ignorance, Acts xvii.—Ignorance begot Error and his brethren, 1 Tim. iv.—Error begot Free-will and Self-love, Iſai. x.—Free-will begot Merits, Iſai. lviii.—Merits begot Forgetfulneſs of Grace, Rom. x.—Forgetfulneſs of God's grace begot Tranſgreſſion, Rom. ii.—Tranſgreſſion begot Miſtruſt, Gen. v.—Miſtruſt begot Satisfaction" (i. e. the opinion that human works and penances would ſatisfy God's juſtice for ſin), Matth. xvii.—Satisfaction begot the ſacrifice of the Maſs, Dan. xii." How juſtly the links of this chain are connected!

verſaries

verſaries to ſpeak reproachfully of us. Let it not, any longer, be thrown in our teeth, that "No ſet of men differ more widely from each other, than the preſent clergy; tho' they all (*u*) ſubſcribe to one and the ſame

(*u*) The late learned and candid Dr. Doddridge has a paſſage, concerning the ſacred nature and obligation of eccleſiaſtical ſubſcriptions, which deſerves to be pondered with the utmoſt ſerioufneſs.—He introduces it, under the article of perjury.

"Care ſhould be taken, that we do not impair the reverence due to an oath, by uſing or impoſing oaths on trifling occaſions, or adminiſtering them in a careleſs manner. The reverence of an oath requires, that we take peculiar care to avoid ambiguous expreſſions in it, and all equivocation and mental reſervation. Something of this kind may be ſaid of ſubſcription to articles of religion: theſe being looked upon as ſolemn actions, and nearly approaching to an oath. Great care ought to be taken, that we ſubſcribe nothing that we do not firmly believe."

The Doctor then proceeds to particularize the moſt plauſible of thoſe faſhionable evaſions, under the thin ſhelter of which, ſome ſubſcribers (like a certain bird, who, when ſhe hides her head, fondly thinks herſelf quite concealed) are ſuppoſed to lurk. The ſaid evaſions are as follow. "If the ſignification of the words be dubious, and we believe either ſenſe, and that ſenſe in which we do believe them is as natural as the other; we may, conſiſtently with integrity, ſubſcribe them.———Or, if the ſenſe, in which we believe them, be leſs natural, and we explain that ſenſe, and that explanation be admitted by the perſon requiring ſubſcription in his own right; there can be no juſt foundation for a ſcruple." But, in both theſe caſes, it is eaſy to diſcern, that ſubſcription would evaporate into a pompous nothing.

The Doctor goes on. "Some have added, that, if we have reaſon to believe, tho' it is not expreſsly declared, that he, who impoſes the ſubſcription, does not intend that we ſhould hereby declare our aſſent to thoſe articles, but only that we ſhould pay a compliment to his authority, and engage ourſelves not openly to contradict them; we may, in this caſe, ſubſcribe what is moſt directly contrary to our belief: or, that, if we declare our belief in any book, as (for inſtance) the Bible, it is to be ſuppoſed that we ſubſcribe other articles only ſo far as they are conſiſtent with that; becauſe we cannot imagine, that the law would require us to profeſs our belief of contrary propoſitions at the ſame time."

And now, what ſays the good Doctor, by way of anſwer to the three quibbles above ſtarted? He overthrows them all, with the ſtroke of his pen, in the following memorable terms: "But ſubſcription upon theſe principles ſeems a very dangerous attack upon ſincerity and public virtue; eſpecially, in thoſe deſigned for public offices." Dr. Doddridge's Courſe of Lectures, p. 142.——Quarto. 1763.

form

form of doctrine." Subſcription is, in virtue, and in fact, a ſolemn bond of engagement to God, and of ſecurity to men, that the ſubſcriber fairly and honeſtly, without reſerve, evaſion, or diſguiſe, abſolutely and nakedly believes the things to which he ſets his hand.——Query: What firm hold could a temporal monarch have, on the allegiance of his ſworn ſubjects, ſhould the ſame horrid prevarications find their way into the minds of political ſwearers, which, it is to be feared, have obtained among ſome theological ſubſcribers? A remark of the late Dr. Daniel Waterland's is at once ſo important and ſo pertinent, that, tho' I have formerly quoted it in another publication, I cannot reſtrain myſelf from introducing it here. "If either ſtate-oaths, on the one hand, or church-ſubſcriptions, on the other, once come to be made light of; and ſubtleties be invented, to defend, or palliate, ſuch groſs inſincerity; we may bid farewell to principles, and religion will be little elſe but diſguiſed Atheiſm (*x*)." This flame of groſs inſincerity has already, in part, caught hold of the Church. And who can tell how much further it may ſpread?

The men, who lately petitioned the legiſlature to overthrow the religious conſtitution of their country, and whoſe party is not yet extinct, reſemble, too much, a certain ſet of innovators, who, in the laſt century, began with pecking at the Church, and ended with demoliſhing the ſtate. What ſecurity can ſuch perſons give the government, that the ſame leaven of iniquity is not working even now? "O, they ſay that they are very loyal." True: and, when they ſubſcribed to the Liturgy and Articles, what was it but ſaying (in a manner ſtill more ſolemn, than if they had only declared it by word of mouth), that they were very orthodox, and very good friends to the Church of England? Is it any

(*x*) Firſt Defence of Queries, againſt Dr. Clarke. Preface, p. 4.

breach

breach of candour, to ſurmiſe, that they, who are capable of diſſembling with God, may alſo be capable of diſſembling with men? If they did theſe things in a green tree, what will they not do in a dry! Can civil obligations be conſidered as binding thoſe ſlippery conſciences, on which the infinitely ſuperior ſanction of the moſt religious and ſacred ſtipulations have no force nor tie? Should Providence have ſo dreadful a judgment in ſtore, for this now highly favoured land, as permiſſively to crown the deſign of theſe ſchemers with effect; *actum eſt* may be the epitaph, inſcribed on the tomb of our national Chriſtianity. We may convert our Churches, ſome into warehouſes, and others into dancing-rooms; make one grand bonfire of our Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy; and tear up our Bibles into waſte paper.

"Oh, but the petitioners have a great reſpect for the Bible." Who ſays ſo? "Why, they themſelves." This is juſt nothing to the purpoſe. They have demonſtrated their inſincerity, in other matters: and therefore have no right to draw a bill of credit on our belief, as to this.

The author of the Confeſſional (pity it is, that the maſter of ſuch fine talents ſhould employ them in ſo bad a cauſe), ſees, with joy, the daring meaſures purſued by that ſhameleſs faction which openly ſeeks to compaſs the ruin of the Church. Let the biſhops look about them. No leſs is aimed at, than the demolition of the hierarchy itſelf. The writer, laſt mentioned, has thought proper to give more than one intimation, that, together with the doctrines and formularies of the eſtabliſhment, a blow is meditating againſt our higheſt order of eccleſiaſtics. My proofs are theſe. "In all excluſive eſtabliſhments, where temporal emoluments are annexed to the profeſſion of a certain ſyſtem of doctrines, and the uſage of a certain routine of forms, and appropriated to an order of men ſo and ſo qualified; that order

order of men will naturally think themſelves intereſted, that things ſhould continue as they are. A reformation might endanger their emoluments. For tho' it ſhould only begin with ſuch things as are moſt notoriouſly amiſs, the alteration of which would no way affect their temporal intereſts; yet by opening a door to farther enquiry, which would be the natural effect of it, their dignities and revenues might poſſibly be brought into queſtion, and be thought to need ſome regulations, which it can hardly be ſuppoſed they would approve. So that they who aſk, who knows where a reformation may end? by way of giving a reaſon why it ſhould not be begun; are certainly not unwiſe in their generation (*y*)." This is what may be termed, a very broad hint, at the very leaſt. But what honeſt intelligencer will give information by halves? Behold, therefore, a farther opening of the budget, in the paſſage that follows, "The infection of the times has, in ſome degree, laid hold even of thoſe venerable perſonages" [i. e. the biſhops], "and produced appearances of ſecularity, which, whenever a reformation ſhall be happily brought about, we may be ſure will not be ſuffered to diſparage their ſacred characters (*z*)." Thus the ſecret is out. The Calviniſm and the epiſcopacy of the Church, give equal umbrage to the petitioning clergy: who are therefore labouring to roll away both theſe ſtones of offence; and, by one happy manœuvre, to rid us of orthodoxy and prelacy together.

See, Right Reverend Fathers, to what point Arianiſm, Socinianiſm and Arminianiſm, are driving. It appears, that a number of the very men, who have ſolemnly ſworn canonical obedience to your lordſhips, are actually labouring to annihilate the mitre, and to ſpring a mine under every cathedral in Eng-

(*y*) Confeſſional, 3d Edit.—Pref. to 1ſt Edit. p. xiv.
(*z*) Confeſſional, p. 374.

land.

land. A ſtriking inſtance, that they, who could ſubſcribe to articles which they diſbelieve, can alſo digeſt the guilt and the ſhame of a violated oath. Too evident it is, that the Strand petitioners (ſtranded may their attempt be!) tho' declared enemies to the (*a*) orthodoxy, are ſtrongly agitated by the levelling principle, of the antient Puritans. Should your lordſhips (which God forbid) ever condeſcend to acquieſce in any of the alterations, demanded by theſe fiery claimants, their reſtleſſneſs and inſatiability would ſtill cry out for more. Were they to gain but a ſingle point, it would encourage them to ſay, with their predeceſſors of old, *Ne ungulam eſſe relinquendam* (*b*). You yourſelves would be, at beſt, the *ultimò devorandi.*

Your lordſhips lament the viſible encroachments of Popery.—Arminianiſm is at once its root, its ſun-ſhine, and its vital ſap.

Your lordſhips ſee, with concern, the extending progreſs of infidelity.—Arminianiſm has opened the hatches to this pernicious inundation: by going about to evaporate the complete redemption, and the finiſhed ſalvation, abſolutely wrought by Chriſt, into (what all the art of man can never really make it) a *vox, et præterea nihil.* As if the goſpel of grace was only a frigid declaration of the terms and con-

(*a*) It has already been proved, that the Puritans agreed with the Church of England, in all articles of faith.

(*b*) "He [Secretary Walſingham] offered, in the queen's name, that the three ceremonies, at which they [the Puritans] ſeemed moſt to boggle, that is to ſay, kneeling at the communion, the ſurplice, and the croſs in baptiſm, ſhould be expunged out of the Book of Common Prayer, if that would content them. But thereunto it was replied in the words of Moſes. *Ne ungulam eſſe relinquendam*; that they would not leave ſo much as an hoof behind. Meaning thereby, that they would have a total abolition of the Book, without retaining any part or office in it in their next new-nothing. Which peremptory anſwer did much alienate his [the ſecretary's] affection from them: as afterwards he affirmed to Knewſtubs; and Knewſtubs to Doctor John Burges of Coleſhill, from whoſe pen I have it." Heyl. Hiſt. Preſb. p. 264, 265.

ditions on which we are to ſave ourſelves; and as if Chriſt himſelf was little or nothing more than a moral philoſopher. Happily for the intrinſic dignity of Chriſtianity, the religion of Jeſus is not that poor, unmeaning thing, which the modern miſrepreſentation induces too many to believe. But can it be matter of reaſonable wonder, that they, who are impoſed upon by ſuch miſrepreſentation, ſhould turn their backs on a ſeeming phantom which has nothing to recommend it; and diſmiſs it, with a ſneer, to the ſhades of contempt?

I wiſh, that the workings even of Atheiſm itſelf may not adminiſter, to your lordſhips, juſt ground of indignation and alarm.——For this alſo, Arminianiſm has paved the way: by deſpoiling the Divine Being, among other attributes, of his unlimited ſupremacy, of his infinite knowledge, of his infallible wiſdom, of his invincible power, of his abſolute independency, and of his eternal immutability. Not to obſerve, that the exempting of ſome things and events from the providence of God, by referring them to free-will, to contingency, and to chance, is another of thoſe back lanes, which lead, in a direct line, from Arminianiſm to Atheiſm. Neither is it at all ſurpriſing, that any, who repreſent men as gods (by ſuppoſing man to poſſeſs the divine attribute of independent ſelf-determination), ſhould, when their hand is in, repreſent God himſelf with the imperfections of a man: by putting limitations on his ſovereignty; by ſuppoſing his knowledge to be ſhackled with circumſcription, and darkened with uncertainty; by connecting their ideas of his wiſdom and power with the poſſibility of diſconcertment and diſappointment, embarraſſment and defeat; by transferring his independency (*c*) to themſelves,

(*c*) I myſelf know ſeveral Arminians, who have declared, to me, in converſation, that, ſo far as concerns the *ipſa determinatio*, or the very act of the will's determinating itſelf to one thing in preference to

ſelves, in order to ſupport their favourite doctrine, which affirms, that the divine will and conduct are dependent on the will and conduct of men; by blotting out his immutability (*d*), that they may clear the way for conditional, uncertain, variable, vanquiſhable, and amiſſible grace; and, by narrowing his providence, to keep the idol of free-will upon its legs, and to ſave human reaſon from the humiliation of acknowledging her inability to account for many of the divine diſpoſals: ſo that according to this ſcheme, we may write, under the majority of incidents that come to paſs, this motto, *Hic Deus nihil fecit.*——Who ſees not the atheiſtical tendency of all this? Let Arminianiſm try to exculpate herſelf from the heavy, but unexaggerated, indictment. Which if ſhe cannot effect, 'twill be doing her no injuſtice, to term her, Atheiſm in maſquerade.

Your lordſhips cannot be inſenſible of the contempt and inſignificancy, into which many of your clergy are fallen.—Arminianiſm is one grand ſource of this likewiſe. Even thoſe of the laity, whom

to another, the ſaid human will is *(horrendum dictu!)* independent of God himſelf. I pray God to give them experimental demonſtration, that they are not ſo independent as they imagine; by bringing them to a better mind.

(*d*) A worthy and ingenious pen preſented the public, ſome years ago, with the followings lines; in which, this topic is very properly handled,

"Shall Weſley ſow his hurtful tares,
"And ſcatter round a thouſand ſnares?
"Telling how God from wrath may turn,
"And love the ſouls he thought to burn;
"And how, again, his mind may move
"To hate, where he has vow'd to love;
"How all mankind he fain would ſave,
"But longs for what he cannot have.
"Induſtrious thus to ſound abroad
"A diſappointed changing God!
"Bluſh, Weſley, bluſh at thy diſgrace;
"Haſte thee to Rome, thy proper place, &c."

See a Poem, entitled, Perſeverance: by the late Mr. Thomas Gurney.

faſhion, or prejudice, or inclination, hath arminianized, too well know, what judgment to form of ſuch ſpiritual guides as ſubſcribe to the whiteneſs of ſnow, tho' they believe it to be black as jet. Let the clergy learn to deſpiſe the ſinful pleaſures, maxims, purſuits, and doctrines, of this world; and the world will, from that moment, ceaſe to deſpiſe the clergy.

Your lordſhips obſerve, with pain, the glaring and almoſt univerſal decay of moral virtue.——This has been a growing calamity, ever ſince the reſtoration of the Stuart line in the perſon of Charles II. With that prince, Arminianiſm returned as a flood; and licentiouſneſs of manners was co-extenſive with it. We have had, ſince that (otherwiſe, happy) period, more than an hundred years experience of the unſanctified effects, which naturally reſult from the ideal ſyſtem of free-will and univerſal redemption. What has that ſyſtem done for us? It has unbraced every nerve of virtue, and relaxed every rein of religious and of ſocial duty. In proportion to the operation of its influence, it has gone far toward ſubverting all moral obedience; and ſeems to endanger the entire ſeries even of political and of eccleſiaſtical ſubordination.

Tantum [EA] *religio potuit ſuadere malorum!*

Look round the land, and your lordſhips cannot fail of perceiving, that our fierceſt free-willers are, for the moſt part, the freeſt livers; and that the practical belief of univerſal grace is, in too many inſtances, the turnpike road to univerſal ſin.

Your lordſhips mark, with becoming diſguſt, the continued exiſtence of Methodiſm.——Arminianiſm is the pandorean box, from which this evil alſo hath iſſued. And tho' Methodiſm appears, at preſent, rather to reſemble a ſtanding pool, than an increaſing ſtream; we know not how ſoon it may

may become a running water, and enlarge itſelf into an overflowing flood; if the corrupt tenets, vented with ſuch raging zeal in Mr. Weſley's meeting-houſes, ſhould, unhappily, be re-echoed from the pulpits of the eſtabliſhed Church. For, certain it is, that thoſe of the clergy, who fly the faſteſt and the fartheſt from doctrinal Calviniſm, are plunging, more deeply than they imagine, into the groſſeſt dregs of Methodiſm.

FINIS.

A WORD

CONCERNING THE

BATHING-TUB BAPTISM.

MR. John Weſley having thought it convenient, in his remarks on Mr. Hill, to pretend abſolute ignorance of the above-mentioned operation, which he, ſome years ago, performed upon Mrs. L. S. (ſee the 2d edition of my letter to him.); and the party herſelf, from whoſe own lips I had the account, having given me leave to publiſh her name on the occaſion (a liberty which I would not have taken, without her previous conſent;)—Be it known, that the perſon, who was the ſubject of 'that bleſt bathing-bout,' is Mrs. Lydia Sheppard, now living in the Borough of Southwark.

Since Mr. Weſley's virtual denial of the fact, ſhe has been again conſulted: and I now, by her authority, ſubjoin the following circumſtances, ſeveral of which I tenderly omitted, when I firſt gave the anecdote to the public.

Antecedently to the ceremony, Mr. Weſley told her, that, to ſatisfy weak minds, he had occaſionally baptized ſome perſons, by immerſion, at Briſtol, and elſewhere; and would do the ſame for her, to make her eaſy. The time and place were accordingly

ingly appointed. An houſe in Long Lane, Southwark, was to have been the ſcene of action: and the water, and other requiſite conveyances, were there actually got in readineſs. But, the matter having taken air, and the curioſity of various people being excited, Mr. John did not chuſe to accompliſh the buſineſs, in the preſence of ſo many ſpectators, as were, then and there, expected to aſſemble. Thus, the adminiſtration was adjourned, and another place fixed upon: at which place, Mr. John Weſley did, with his own hands, baptize the ſaid Mrs. Lydia Sheppard, by plunging her under water. And a fine plunging it had like to have proved.

Does the reader aſk, in what font this baptiſm was adminiſtered? The font was a common bathing-tub.——Is it further enquired, in what chapel did the font ſtand at the time? The chapel was, truly, a chapel *in cryptis:* to wit, a common cellar.——Am I aſked, of what cathedral was this ſubterraneous chapel a part? The cathedral, or mother church, was neither better nor worſe than a cheeſemonger's houſe, in Spitalfields, London.——Who were the witneſſes to this under-ground baptiſm? A ſelect party, it ſeems, carefully draughted from, what Mr. Weſley calls, his claſſes and bands.

And, now, what will that gentleman alledge, in extenuation of his affected ignorance of this whole matter? Surely, even he will not perſiſt in pretending to forget ſo remarkable a tranſaction: eſpecially, when ſuch an explicit ſeries of ſtriking circumſtances ariſes to refreſh his memory!—Poſſibly, he may, on this occaſion, repeat his former climax of "a Cynic, a Bear, a Toplady." But, I aſſure him, I will not retaliate the compliment, by crying out, an Hottentot, a Wolf, a Weſley.—No. The weapons of my warfare are of a milder temperature. I would much rather endure ſcurrility, than offer it.

But I ſtill adhere to my primitive demand, with which I ſat out, ſeveral years ago, when the preſent con-

controverſy with the Arminians began to wax warm: namely, let Mr. Weſley plead his own cauſe, and fight his own battles. I am as ready, as ever, to meet him, with the ſling of reaſon and the ſtone of God's word in my hand. But let him not fight by proxy. Let his coblers keep to their ſtalls. Let his tinkers mend their brazen veſſels. Let his barbers confine themſelves to their blocks and baſons. Let his bakers ſtand to their kneading-troughs. Let his blackſmiths blow more ſuitable coals, than thoſe of controverſy. Every man in his own order.

Should, however, any of Mr. Weſley's life-guardmen, whether gowned or aproned, Swiſs or Engliſh, ſtep forth to their tottering maſter's relief,

" *In ſqualid legions, ſwarming from the preſs,*
" *Like* Ægypt's *inſects from the mud of* Nile;"

I ſhall, probably, not ſo much as give them the reading. Or, if any of them happen to fall under my peruſal, and I deem it proper to repreſs the vanity of the vain, Mr. Weſley himſelf will ſtill be my mark: and I ſhall, if Providence permit, continue to imitate the conduct of that philoſopher, who thraſhed the maſter, for the ill behaviour of the ſcholars. Tho' after all, if Mr. Richard Hill's two maſterly pamphlets (one, entitled, A Review of the Doctrines taught by Mr. John Weſley, with a Farrago annexed; the other, *Logica Weſleienſis*, or The Farrago double-diſtilled) make no advantageous impreſſion on 'the John Goodwin of the preſent age;' he may, from henceforward, be, fairly and finally, conſigned to the hoſpital of incurables.

CHRONOLOGY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM

EGBERT

TO

HENRY the EIGHTH.

A

LIST

OF THE

KINGS of ENGLAND;

FROM

EGBERT down to his preſent MAJESTY.

	A. D.	A. D.
EGBERT,	829—	838.
Ethelwulph,	838—	857.
Ethelbald,	857—	860.
Ethelbert,	860—	866.
Ethelred I.	866—	872.
Alfred,	872—	900.
Edward I.	900—	925.
Athelſtan,	925—	941.
Edmund I.	941—	948.
Edred,	948—	955.
Edwy,	955—	959.
Edgar,	959—	975.
Edward II.	975—	979.
Ethelred II.	979—	1013.
Sweyn,	1013—	1014.
[Ethelred II. reſt.]	1014—	1015.
Edmund II.	1015—	1017.
Canute,	1017—	1036.
Harold I.	1036—	1039.
Canute II.	1039—	1041.
Edward III. Conf.	1041—	1066.
Harold II.	1066.	
William, C.	1066—	1087.
William, R.	1087—	1100.
Henry I.	1100—	1135.
Stephen,	1135—	1154.
Henry II.	1154—	1189.
Richard I.	1189—	1196.
John,	1196—	1216.
Henry III.	1216—	1272.
Edward I.	1272—	1307.
Edward II.	1307—	1327.
Edward III.	1327—	1377.
Richard II.	1377—	1399.
Henry IV.	1399—	1413.
Henry V.	1413—	1422.
Henry VI.	1422—	1461.
Edward IV.	1461—	1483.
Edward V.	1483.	
Richard III.	1483—	1485.
Henry VII.	1485—	1509.
Henry VIII.	1509—	1547.
Edward VI.	1547—	1553.
Mary,	1553—	1558.
Elizabeth,	1558—	1603.
James I.	1603—	1625.
Charles I.	1625—	1649.
[Republic],	1649—	1660.
Charles II.	1660—	1685.
James II.	1685—	1688.
WILLIAM III.	1688—	1702.
Anne,	1702—	1714.
George I.	1714—	1727.
George II.	1727—	1760.
George III.	1760.	

CHRONOLOGY

OF

ENGLAND, &c.

EGBERT,

THE ſixteenth king of Weſſex (comprehending the preſent counties of Hants, Berks, Wilts, Dorſet, Somerſet, Devon, and Cornwall,) ſucceeded Brithric, A. D. 800. He was deſcended from Cerdic, a Saxon * General, who, reſolving to ſeek his

* The old Saxons were, originally, inhabitants of the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, now called Jutland: from whence being driven by the Goths, they ſettled in Germany, and made themſelves maſters of thoſe tracts of land, lying between the Rhine and the Elbe. Their territories, bounded, on the Weſt, by the German ocean, extended, Eaſtward, to the borders of Thuringen: conſequently, they were maſters of Saxony, Weſtphalia, and as much of the Low Countries, as lies North of the Rhine. As to the very firſt origin of the Saxons, previous to their poſſeſſion of Cherſoneſus, we know nothing at all about it. The numerous conjectures that have been made concerning it, only leaving us, if poſſible, ſtill more in the dark.

Nor is the true etymology of the name, Saxon, much leſs difficult to fix.

1. Some derive it from Seax, a ſword, or cutlaſs: Whence thoſe old verſes:

Quippe brevis gladius apud illos Saxa *vocatur;*
Unde ſibi Saxo *nomen traxiſſe putatur.*

In

his fortune in Britain, arrived here A. D. 495, and, after having founded the kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons, and being twice crowned, died in 534, leaving his dominions to his ſon Cenric. During the reign of Brithric, Egbert had rendered himſelf extremely popular in Weſſex; which Brithric could not obſerve without jealouſy. Egbert perceiving this, found it for his ſafety to fly into France, where he was kindly received by Charles the Great.

Brithric, having accidentally taſted ſome poiſon, which his wife Edburga had mixed up for ſome other perſon, died A. D. 799. Edburga was obliged to fly the kingdom; and a ſolemn embaſſy was ſent over to Egbert, with an offer of the crown of Weſſex; which he accepted. A. D. 809, he totally ſubdued the Britons of Cornwall. The next year, 810, Andred, king of Northumberland (comprehending the counties of Lancaſter, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, Northumberland, York, and Durham) ſubmitted to Egbert. By the year 829, at fartheſt, he finiſhed his conqueſts, and became ſovereign of all England*. He was, indeed, only

In like manner, the Quirites had their name from quiris, a ſhort ſpear; and the Scythians, from ſcytton, to ſhoot from a bow.——Add to this, that the arms of Saxony are, at this very day, two ſhort ſwords in croſs.

2. Mr. Camden agrees with thoſe, who derive the name of Saxon, from the Sacæ, or Saſſones, mentioned by Pliny: a very ancient and conſiderable nation in Aſia; and that the Saxons are, as it were, Sacaſons, i. e. ſons of the Sacæ; and that out of Scythia, or Sarmatia Aſiatica, they came, by little and little, into Europe, along with the Getæ, the Suevi, and the Daci.

3. Scaliger will have them to be deſcended from the ancient Perſians.

* But his repoſe was ſoon diſturbed by the Danes, who, A. D. 833, landed at Charmouth in Dorſetſhire; where Egbert, engaging them, was entirely defeated: and, flying, narrowly eſcaped with life. A. D. 835, they paid him another viſit; but he quite defaced the diſhonours of his former defeat, by gaining a great victory over them, at Hengſton-Hill, in Cornwall. (The Danes had made two deſcents on England, previous to theſe: the firſt, at Portland, in 789; the ſecond, in the Iſle of Shephey, A. D. 832.) At the battle of Charmouth, were ſlain, among others, Hereferth, biſhop of Winchester; and Wigferth, biſhop of Sherborne.

in actual poſſeſſion of Weſſex, Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex; but he had made the kingdoms of Mercia, Northumberland, and Eaſt-Anglia, tributary to himſelf. Thus he ended the famous heptarchy, which had laſted (reckoning from its original, viz. the arrival of Hengiſt, A. D. 449,) about 380 years. Egbert dying, A. D. 838, was ſucceeded by his only ſon

2. ETHELWULPH. (A. D. 838—857.)

This prince, A. D. 840, reſigns the kingdoms of Kent, Eſſex, and Suſſex, (including Surrey,) to Athelſtan, his natural ſon. A. D. 852, the two kings gave battle to the Danes, at Okely, in Surrey, and gain a complete victory: which, however, Athelſtan does not long ſurvive.

A. D. 855, Ethelwulph goes to Rome, upon ſuperſtitious motives; and his ſon Ethelbald takes that opportunity of aſpiring to the throne. The king returning immediately, is forced to compromiſe matters, by reſigning Weſſex to his ſon, and reſerving only Kent, Eſſex, and Suſſex, to himſelf. Ethelwulph out-lives this partition but two years. He was a very conſcientious, exemplary prince. He died, A. D. 857, leaving four ſons, Ethelbald, already in poſſeſſion of Weſſex; Ethelbert, who, by virtue of his father's laſt will, ſucceeded him in the kingdoms of Kent, Eſſex, Suſſex, and Surrey, (comprized now under the general name of, the kingdom of Kent;) Ethelred; and Alfred; who both, ſucceſſively, mounted the throne.

3. ETHELBALD, (A. D. 857—860.)

Reigned in Weſſex two years, during his father's life; and about two and a half, after his deceaſe. He died about 860, leaving behind him a bad character; and was ſucceeded by his ſecond brother

4. ETHEL-

4. ETHELBERT, (A. D. 860—866.)

Who, already poſſeſt of Kent-major, did, by acceding to Weſſex, unite the kingdoms again. This king, by giving the Danes money, in order to make them go away, only allured them to make their deſcents the oftner. He died, A. D. 866, leaving behind him, two ſons, Anhelm and Ethelward; neither of whom ſucceeded him: his younger brother, Ethelred, mounting the throne, by virtue of his father Ethelwulph's will.

5. ETHELRED I. (A. D. 866—872.)

His reign was ſhort and troubleſome: being one continued conflict with the Danes. Ivar, or Hinguar, a Daniſh king, landing here, made very conſiderable conqueſts. Ethelred, though very unfortunate, was extremely courageous. He received his death's wound, at the battle of Marden, in Wiltſhire, fought with the Danes, A. D. 872, and was buried at Winborne.

6. ALFRED. (A. D. 872—900.)

Ethelred left ſeveral children, who were barred from the ſucceſſion by the will of their grandfather, Ethelwulph; which adjudged the crown to Alfred, juſtly ſtiled The Great. Scarce had this moſt excellent prince been a month on the throne, when, in the battle of Wilton, he was worſted by the Danes. In the year 877, they invade Weſſex; and, the next year, Alfred finds himſelf deſerted by all: and is forced to conceal himſelf in a ſhepherd's houſe, in the iſle of Athelney, in Somerſetſhire. But, ſhortly after, letting his friends know where he was, he ſo concerted meaſures, that, putting himſelf once more at the head of an army, he defeated the Danes at the battle of Edington, Somerſetſhire. Thus, tho' he ſucceeded to the throne, A. D. 872, yet he was not

not thoroughly ſettled in it, until the year 878. From this time, he bent all his thoughts how he might render his people free and happy at home, and ſecured from foreign attacks. To that end, he firſt puts his navy on a very formidable footing; and then, having thus guarded his coaſts, he fortifies the reſt of the kingdom with caſtles and walled towns. Next he ſet himſelf to make and compile a body of laws; and to guard private perſons, as much as poſſible, from oppreſſion, he was the immortal inſtitutor of juries, and ordained that, in all criminal caſes, a man ſhould be tried by his peers. He was likewiſe, probably, the firſt who divided England into ſhires (from the Saxon word ſcyre, to branch, or divide,) hundreds, and tythings. He regulates the militia, ſo as to have them ready for ſervice, in caſe of invaſion, at a ſhort warning; he introduces and promotes a very extenſive commerce with other nations; invites over ſome learned men from abroad; and, A. D. 886, founds four colleges at Oxford: one for divinity, one for grammar and rhetoric, one for logic, arithmetic, and muſic; and, in the other, Johannes Scotus (ſurnamed Erigena, i. e. Iriſhman, from the word Erin, or Irin, the true name of Ireland) profeſſed geometry and aſtronomy. With regard to the adminiſtration of national affairs, he ſet up two councils, wherein every thing was debated: 1. a cabinet council. 2. Another, anſwerable to what is now called the privy council. To theſe he added the old Saxon Wittenagemot, or general aſſembly of the realm; much of the ſame nature with what is now called the parliament. Some time after, he introduces the way of building with brick and ſtone: houſes, &c. until then, being uſually built of wood. In the diſtribution of his time, he was very exact; allotting eight hours in the day, for the diſpatch of public buſineſs; eight for ſleep, ſtudy, and neceſſary refreſhment; and (purſuant to a vow he made, while he lay concealed in Aldeny)

eight to acts of devotion. He died, A. D. 900, *æt.* 52, *regni* 29. He was born at Wantage, in Berks: and buried at Wincheſter, without the North-gate, ſince called the Hide. He was, without doubt, one of the beſt, the greateſt, and moſt glorious princes, that ever wore a crown. He was ſucceeded by his ſon

7. EDWARD I. (A. D. 900—925.)

He was inferior to his father in every thing, except in valour and ſucceſs. He is uſually ſuppoſed to have founded the Univerſity of Cambridge, A. D. 915. His reign, which laſted more than twenty-four years, was, upon the whole, an happy and glorious one. By his firſt wife, he had two ſons; Elſward, who ſurvived him but a few days; and Edwin, who was put to death by Athelſtan, A. D. 938.

By a ſecond wife, named Edgiva, he had two ſons; Edmund, and Edred; who both mounted the throne.

8. ATHELSTAN. (A. D. 925—941.)

Notwithſtanding Edward left three ſurviving ſons, and eight daughters, all legitimate; yet his natural ſon, Athelſtan, whom he had by a concubine named Egwina, is, by the clergy and nobility, elected king. He proved a valiant and ſucceſsful prince; loved at home, and reſpected abroad. He died at Glouceſter, A. D. 941, *æt.* 46, *regn.* 16, and was buried at Malmſbury. He left no iſſue; by which means

9. EDMUND I. (A. D. 941—948.)

Eldeſt ſon of Edward I. is unanimouſly placed on the throne. In the year 948, being at Pucklechurch, in Glouceſterſhire, he ſaw one Leolf, a noted robber, who had been condemned to baniſhment, dining at a table in the ſame hall with himſelf. The king,

king, enraged, orders him to be apprehended: on which the hardy villain draws his dagger, to defend himſelf. Edmund, incenſed to the laſt degree, leaps from his throne, and catching him by the hair, drags him out of the hall. In the ſtruggle, Leolf wounds him in the breaſt; and the imprudent king expires on the body of his murderer. This was the end of Edmund, *æt.* 25, *regn.* 8. He was buried at Glaſtonbury; of which he made Dunſtan the firſt abbot.

10. EDRED. (A. D. 948—955.)

Though Edmund had two ſons (by his wife Elgiva) namely Edwy and Edgar; yet his brother, Edred, was placed on the throne. He was remarkable for his ſucceſſes againſt the Danes; and after a ſeven year's reign, died A. D. 955. Though he left two ſons, Elfrid, and Bedfrid, they were ſet aſide: and he was ſucceeded by

11. EDWY. (A. D. 955—959.)

Son of Edmund I. his elder brother. This prince was ſo very handſome, that he acquired the ſurname of Pancalus. Dunſtan, who had been a favourite with Edred, being diſgraced by Edwy, foments a rebellion in Mercia. The Mercians chuſe Edgar for their king; in which Edwy is obliged to acquieſce. But this partition, together with ſeeing Dunſtan and his monks triumphant, ſo preyed upon his ſpirits, as to throw him into a deep melancholy; of which he died, A. D. 959, after a ſhort reign of ſomewhat above four years. Dying childleſs, he was ſucceeded by his brother

12. EDGAR. (A. D. 959—975.)

Who, hereby, united the kingdoms, lately divided. His reign was remarkable for the continual peace with which it was attended; whence he had

the name of Edgar the Peaceable. This uninterrupted calm was owing neither to his valour, nor to his puſillanimity: but to the great preparations he had made, to defend himſelf, in caſe of any attack. This rendered him ſo formidable, that none of the neighbouring princes durſt venture to begin with him. Keeping his court once at Cheſter, he was rowed down the river Dee, to the monaſtery of St. John the Baptiſt, by eight kings (himſelf ſitting at the helm,) viz. Malcom, king of Cumberland; Mackus, lord of the Iſles; and ſix Welch princes, Dufnal, Siſert, Howel, Jago, Inchell, and Jevaff. By promiſing every criminal, capitally convicted, his pardon, on condition of bringing him ſo many wolves tongues by ſuch a time, he cleared England of wolves, in the ſpace of three years. After reigning ſixteen years, he died, A. D. 975, *æt.* 32, leaving two ſons: 1. Edward, who ſucceeded him; born by Elfleda, his concubine; at leaſt the marriage was very doubtful. 2. Ethelred, the youngeſt, by the beautiful Elfrida, (daughter of Ordang, earl of Devonſhire,) whom he had married. Edgar ſeems to have been rather a great, than a good prince.

13. EDWARD II. (A. D. 975—979.)

Commonly called the Martyr (though very improperly,) was, partly through the impudence, and partly through the intrigues of Dunſtan, acknowledged as king, at the age of fourteen years. He reigned but four years; for A. D. 979, being on his return from hunting, he called at Corfe Caſtle (in the iſle of Purbeck, Dorſetſhire,) to pay his reſpects to his mother-in-law, Elfrida, who lived there with her ſon Ethelred. Being told that the king was at the gate, Elfrida ran out to receive him, and earneſtly preſſed him to alight and come in to refreſh himſelf. But, as Edward's deſign was only to call on her, as he paſſed by her caſtle, he excuſed himſelf

ſelf from going in, and only deſired a glaſs of wine, that he might drink her health. Hardly had he lifted the glaſs to his mouth, when a ruffian (ſome ſay Elfrida did it with her own hands) ſtabbed him in the back, with a dagger. Perceiving himſelf wounded, he ſet ſpurs to his horſe, and quickly gallopped out of ſight: but being unable to keep on the ſaddle, through loſs of blood, he fell, and was dragged a conſiderable way, 'till his horſe voluntarily ſtopped at the door of a cottage which ſtood by the road-ſide. Elfrida, to conceal her crime, had his corpſe thrown into a well; but it was ſoon diſcovered and removed to Shafteſbury. Elfrida, (according to the cuſtom of thoſe times,) thinking to atone for what ſhe had done, founded two monaſteries; one at Ambreſbury, in Wiltſhire; and the other at Worwell, near Andover; in which latter ſhe ſhut herſelf up, to do penance the reſt of her life.

14. ETHELRED II. (A. D. 979—1013.)

Edward the Martyr (and a martyr he was, to the ambition of his mother-in-law, who was determined, at all events, to ſee her own ſon on the throne) was ſucceeded by his half-brother, Ethelred the ſecond, Edgar's ſon by Elfrida. In this king's reign, was perpetrated the maſſacre of the Danes. But Sweyn, king of Denmark, hearing of it, ſoon took a ſevere revenge. He landed thrice in England. The two firſt times he did incredible damage, and carried off immenſe booty. The third time, which was in the year 1012, or 1013, he made himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom.

15. SWEYN, firſt Daniſh King. (A. D. 1013—1014.)

Sweyn, king of Denmark, was the firſt Daniſh king of England. His reign was very ſhort; for

he died ſuddenly the next year, being 1014. Whereupon

(ETHELRED Reſtored.)

Ethelred was, by the Engliſh, recalled to the throne: who after a reign of continued bloodſhed and diſquiet, died at London, A. D. 1015. From his remiſſneſs and inactivity, he obtained the ſirname of The Unready. He left the kingdom involved in the utmoſt miſery and poverty, confuſion and deſolation. He was ſucceeded by his ſon

16. EDMUND II. (A. D. 1015—1017.)

Sur-named Ironſide, from his great robuſtneſs of body. The Danes, however, declare for Canute (ſon of Sweyn) now in England. In one year, 1016, Edmund and Canute fought five pitched battles. The ſame year, Edmund ſent a challenge to Canute; which the latter did not accept: but propoſed referring the deciſion of their claims, to a certain number of plenipotentiaries, nominated by each party. The propoſal was gladly received by the lords who ſided with Edmund; ſo he was obliged to acquieſce in it. The congreſs was held accordingly, in Alney (a little iſland in the Severn, oppoſite to Glouceſter;) where peace was quickly concluded, by a partition of the kingdom between the two competitors. All the country, ſouth of the Thames, together with London, and part of Eſſex, was adjudged to Edmund; the reſt of the kingdom, to Canute. Matters being thus ſettled, the two kings met in the Iſle of Alney, and, after mutually ſwearing to keep the peace, each retired to the dominions aſſigned him.

Edmund died the next year, 1017, and was buried at Glaſtonbury, beſide his grandfather Edgar. He was a juſt, magnanimous, and heroic prince: and, had his ſucceſs in life been equal to his merit, he would

would have vied with the greateſt and beſt of monarchs.

By his wife, Algitha, he left two ſons, Edmund, and Edward. With him the Saxon monarchy in a manner ended, and gave place to the Danes; after it had laſted one hundred and ninety years, from the eſtabliſhment by Egbert; four hundred and thirty-two, from the founding of the heptarchy; and five hundred and ſixty-eight, from the arrival of the Saxons under Hengiſt.

17. CANUTE, Second Daniſh King. (A. D. 1017—1036.)

Canute, already ſovereign of great part of England, found means, tho' not directly by dint of arms, to make himſelf maſter of Weſſex; and, thereby, of the whole realm. A. D. 1018, or thereabouts, he marries Emma, of Normandy, widow of Ethelred the ſecond.

A. D. 1027, he ſubdues Norway; of which he is crowned king. This conqueſt ſatisfying his ambition, he, thenceforward, gave himſelf up to acts of devotion; and continued to the end of his days, humble, modeſt, juſt, and truly religious: a character very different from that which he bore during the former part of his reign. Dying, A. D. 1036, at Shaftſbury, he was buried at Wincheſter. He left three ſons; 1. Sweyn, to whom he bequeathed Norway: 2. Harold, to whom he gave England: and Canute, commonly called Hardicanute, whom he had by Emma, and to whom he aſſigned Denmark.

18. HAROLD I. Third Daniſh King. (A. D. 1036—1039.)

Harold accordingly ſucceeds his father; firſt in Mercia only, and then, thro' the intereſt of earl Goodwin, in Weſſex alſo. His reign was ſhort, and remarkable for nothing of moment. He was ſur-

named Harefoot; becauſe, according to ſome, one of his feet was hairy all over: according to others, becauſe he would never mount an horſe, always chuſing to walk on foot: but moſt probably, from his ſwiftneſs in running. He died at Oxford, A. D. 1039, and was ſucceeded by his brother

19. CANUTE II. or Hardicanute, Fourth Daniſh King. (A. D. 1039.)

So called, from the robuſtneſs of his conſtitution. He was a prince, in whoſe whole character there was nothing of the amiable, the reſpectable, or the beneficent: being cruel, avaricious, haughty, oppreſſive, and intemperate. He died, probably in a drunken fit, at Lambeth, unlamented, A. D. 1041.

20. EDWARD III. the Confeſſor. (A. D. 1041—1066.)

Hardicanute, leaving no iſſue, the nobles were embarraſſed, whom to elect. There were,

1. Edward (afterwards named the Confeſſor,) ſon of Ethelred the ſecond, by Emma of Normandy. But then,

2. There was another Edward (ſon of Edmund Ironſide, and who, with his brother had been ſent, in the beginning of Canute's reign, into Hungary, where he now was,) one degree nearer the crown; being, as I have ſaid, ſon to Edmund the ſecond, and, by conſequence, nephew to the Confeſſor. On the other hand,

3. There had been an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of four Daniſh kings, for twenty-eight years; and Sweyn, ſon to Canute the firſt, was ſtill living.

However, Edward, ſon of Ethelred the ſecond, was choſe by the intereſt of earl Goodwin, whom he had gained. His election was quickly followed by a general expulſion of the Danes. Edward (tho' ſainted, about 200 years after his death, by Pope Alexander the third) was a prince of weak, narrow genius;

genius; a mean diſſembler; unſteady, malicious, and revengeful, where he entertained any diſlike; and yet good natured, even to folly, when his caprice leaned that way: a deſpicable king; a very bad huſband to a moſt virtuous and amiable wife (Editha, daughter of earl Goodwin); and not only an undutiful, but a cruel ſon, to his mother, Emma of Normandy. 'Tis true ſhe had diſobliged him, by marrying Canute, her firſt huſband's mortal enemy; but chiefly by one of the marriage articles, in which ſhe conſented that the crown of England ſhould go to the iſſue ſhe might have by Canute: which, however, it did not.

On Edward's acceſſion, he not only ſtript her of all her poſſeſſions, allowing her only a very ſlender penſion; but likewiſe, in fact, kept her a priſoner at Wincheſter, where, after about eleven years confinement, in great poverty, ſhe was releaſed by death, A. D. 1052. Thus died Emma of Normandy, a ſad ſacrifice to the revenge and inhumanity of her own ſon! ſhe who was the widow of two kings (Ethelred II. and Canute I;) mother of two more (Hardicanute, and this Edward;) and daughter of a duke of Normandy, little inferior to a king!

Toward the latter part of his reign, Harold (ſon of earl Goodwin, lately deceaſed) forms a deſign of mounting the throne. At the ſame time, Edward, not troubling himſelf to fix the ſucceſſion, employs himſelf ſolely in building a church at Weſtminſter, and finiſhed it juſt before his death, which happened A. D. 1065, or the beginning of 1066.

He made no manner of figure, either as a good man, or a great: and yet he muſt have a place in the calendar! and, for no reaſon in the world, be called a Confeſſor!

21. HAROLD II. (A. D. 1066.)

Edgar Atheling (grand nephew to Edward the Confeſſor, and ſon to Edward, the ſon of Edmund Ironſide)

Ironſide) was next the throne: but Harold had lain his plan ſo well, that he got himſelf elected. His late father, the great earl Goodwin, was of Daniſh extraction.

Harold's reign, ſhort as it was, was moleſted by the invaſions and reſtleſs hatred of his brother Toſton (whom, for male-adminiſtration, he had formerly removed from the government of Northumberland; which act of diſintereſted juſtice, Toſton could never forgive.) But his moſt formidable and moſt ſucceſsful foe was William the Baſtard of Normandy, afterwards named the Conqueror: who, having waited, ſome time, for a wind, at length ſet ſail from St. Valery, and lands at Pevenſey (now called Pemſey,) in Suſſex, on the 29th of September. Thence he marches to Haſtings, where he incamps. King Harold (who was then in the north, repelling an invaſion from Norway,) hearing of William's deſcent, moves toward Haſtings. October the 14th, being Harold's birth-day, the two armies engage, near that place. Harold, after acquitting himſelf with a valour, prudence, and magnanimity, which well deſerved a crown, yields, at laſt, to deſtiny, and falls among the ſlain: ſoon after, his troops are totally routed. This battle (commonly called the battle of Haſtings) was fought on the ſpot where the town of Battle now ſtands, ſo named from this day's action. Thus died Harold, after a ſhort reign of leſs than a twelve-month. Tho' unfortunate, he was poſſeſt of every quality, that is requiſite, to form a great prince and an amiable man. His mounting the throne, was the only fault that could be laid to his charge.

22. (1.) WILLIAM I. (A. D. 1066—1087.)

On gaining the battle of Haſtings, the Conqueror approaches London. The magiſtrates meet him with the keys, and the nobles offer him the crown; which he accepts. Tho', at his coronation, he took the

the uſual oath; yet his reign was exceſſively violent and tyrannical; and the Engliſh were mortified, pillaged, and oppreſt to the laſt degree. A. D. 1087, being at war with Philip, king of France, he laid ſiege to the city of Mantes, which he reduced to aſhes. The heat of the ſeaſon, and his ſtanding too near the fire, to ſee his orders executed, threw him into a fever, which interrupted the progreſs of his arms. Another accident likewiſe proved fatal to him: for being at this time exceſſively corpulent and unwieldy, he hurt the rim of his belly, againſt the pummel of his ſaddle, as he was leaping a ditch, on horſeback, in Normandy: this increaſing his fever, he was carried on, in a litter, to Roan; where (after expreſſing great concern for the ſins of his life, and owning himſelf an uſurper of the crown of England) he died, Sept. 9, 1087, and was buried at Caen, after a reign of fifty-two years in Normandy, and almoſt twenty-one in England. By his wife Matilda, daughter to the earl of Flanders, he left three ſurviving ſons; Robert, duke of Normandy; William, and Henry; of whom the two laſt ſucceſſively mounted the throne.

23. (2.) WILLIAM II. (A. D. 1087—1100.)

Duke Robert, eldeſt ſon of the Conqueror, ſhould have ſucceeded to the kingdom: but his brother William (ſurnamed Rufus, from the redneſs either of his hair, or his complexion) found means to ſupplant him. Robert was one of the moſt amiable princes in all reſpects, (if you except his indolence) that ever lived: on the contrary, William had every evil quality, that could diſgrace a man, and degrade a prince. His valour (the only property in him, that had even the leaſt appearance of excellence) was more properly a brutal fierceneſs. A. D. 1098, he builds Weſtminſter Hall. A. D. 1100, as he was hunting at Choringham, in the New Foreſt, in purſuit of a ſtag he had wounded, one Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, ſhooting at the ſame ſtag, pierced

pierced (as 'tis ſaid) the king in the breaſt; who fell down dead on the ſpot, without ſpeaking a word. Thus died William Rufus, quite unlamented, in the forty-fourth year of his age; after a reign, or rather tyranny, of almoſt thirteen years: and was buried at Wincheſter.

24. (3.) HENRY I. (A. D. 1100—1135.)

Thò' the youngeſt of the Conqueror's ſons, yet found means to make a ſtrong party for himſelf; which became ſtill ſtronger in a ſhort time; thoſe, who were in the intereſt of his brother Robert, chuſing, at laſt, to declare for Henry, leſt the kingdom ſhould be involved in a civil war. His election, however, was very irregular and tumultuary; being entirely popular. He was even crowned on the fourth day from Rufus's death, before the States had confirmed his election. At firſt, he gave hopes of being a juſt, beneficent king; but the maſk ſoon fell off, and his reign was, for the moſt part, one ſeries of tyranny and oppreſſion. A. D. 1106, he entirely ſtrips duke Robert, his brother, of all Normandy; and, having taken that moſt amiable, but unfortunate prince, priſoner, at the battle of Tinchebray, he brought him over to England, and ſhut him up in the caſtle of Cardiffe, in Glamorganſhire; where he continued a priſoner, till his death, which happened not till twenty-ſix years after, A. D. 1133. Henry did not very long ſurvive his injured brother: for, having eaten, to exceſs, of ſome lampreys, he died December 2, 1135, *an. æt.* 68, *regn.* 36, and was buried at Reading. His courage, his capacity, and his acquired * learning, were great: but then he was haughty, cruel, covetous, inſatiably avaricious, and luſtful beyond meaſure.

By his wife Matilda (who was daughter to Malcolm, king of Scotland; by Margaret, ſiſter to Edgar

* Whence he acquired the ſir-name of Beauclerck.

Atheling,

Atheling, who was grandſon of Edmond Ironſide) he left only one daughter, Matilda, married, A. D. 1109, to the emperor Henry IV. Of his ſurviving natural children (which were twelve,) Robert, duke of Glouceſter, who made ſo great a figure in the next reign, was the moſt eminent.

25. (4.) STEPHEN. (A. D. 1135—1154.)

Henry thought he had ſecured the ſucceſſion to his daughter, the empreſs Matilda, but he was miſtaken; for he was ſucceeded by Stephen de Blois, earl of Boulogne, his nephew; whoſe mother, Adela, was daughter to William the Conqueror, and married to the Earl of Blois, by whom ſhe had four ſons, of whom Stephen, earl of Boulogne, was one.

Upon the death of Henry (in whoſe court Stephen had been educated,) the clergy led the way, by declaring for his nephew: and the nobility, tho' they had thrice ſworn to Matilda, ſoon followed the example. Stephen's reign was a very turbulent one. Deſirous to retrench the pride and luxury of the clergy, he makes them his determined enemies; and they quickly gain over the people to their ſide. In this juncture, the empreſs Matilda lands in England, to aſſert her right to the crown. Her brother (tho' illegitimate,) Robert, duke of Glouceſter, had, ſome time before, headed a revolt; the deſign of which was to place her on the throne: but Stephen having defeated him, he flies over to his ſiſter, who, at his perſuaſion, comes hither, to head her friends in perſon. At firſt, ſhe takes up her quarters with Adeliza, (daughter to Godfrey, the firſt earl of Brabant, and fourteen years wife to Henry I.) the queen dowager, in the caſtle of Arundel. Hence, at the queen's interceſſion, Stephen generouſly gives her leave to go, unmoleſted, to Briſtol: where, and at Glouceſter, ſhe manages ſo artfully as to gain over both nobles and clergy to her party, and, by their means, almoſt all the people. A civil war breaks out;

out: Stephen is reduced to extreme perplexity, yet preſerves his intrepidity. At length the duke of Glouceſter's forces, and thoſe of king Stephen, engage: the latter is defeated, taken priſoner, and ſent to Matilda, who is ſo baſe as to lay him in irons, and confine him in the caſtle of Briſtol. After this, Stephen's youngeſt brother, Henry de Blois, at firſt abbot of Glaſtonbury, now biſhop of Wincheſter, ſides with Matilda. But her unſufferable haughtineſs quickly alienates the affections of him and all her new ſubjects. The biſhop declares again for his brother: the revolt from Matilda is general: ſhe betakes herſelf to the caſtle of Wincheſter, where ſhe is cloſely beſieged. Making a ſally, a battle enſues: her troops are defeated: the duke of Glouceſter is taken priſoner, and ſoon after exchanged for king Stephen, who now, once more, ſees himſelf at liberty. Matilda flying from place to place, is forced, about four years after, to quit the kingdom, A. D. 1146, earl Robert having been firſt ſlain. Thus Stephen is again maſter of England. But, A. D. 1152, Henry, duke of Normandy (afterwards Henry II.) ſon to Matilda, by Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, (whom, A. D. 1127, ſhe had married, upon the death of her former huſband, the emperor Henry IV.) looking on himſelf as undoubted heir to the crown, came over hither, in order to ſtrengthen his party. He and Stephen had given each other battle, at Wallingford, in Berks, had it not been for the perſuaſions of the earl of Arundel, who inclined Stephen to peace. In ſhort, duke Henry and the king held a conference on the oppoſite banks of the Thames (which, at Wallingford, is very narrow,) where they agreed on a truce. The next year, it was ſettled, that Stephen ſhould enjoy the crown for life, but that Henry ſhould be next ſucceſſor: which he accordingly was.

Stephen outlived this agreement but eleven months; dying at Canterbury, of the cholic, October

ber 25, 1154. *an. æt.* 50, *regn.* 19, and was buried at Feverſham. Stephen, abſtracted from his ambition in mounting the throne, was poſſeſſed, not only of the whole circle of virtues; but, which rarely is the caſe, adorned with every amiable and graceful qualification, which could ſet off thoſe virtues to advantage. After giving him ſuch a character, it would be needleſs to obſerve, that he was, in particular, valiant, merciful, juſt, generous, and a lover of his people.

26. (5.) HENRY II. (A. D. 1154—1189.)

Purſuant to treaty, Henry Plantagenet, (otherwiſe called, Fitzempreſs) ſon to the earl of Anjou, (by Matilda, daughter of Henry I. and relict of the emperor Henry IV.) ſucceeds to the crown without oppoſition. He lands December 7, and is crowned the 19th. He was in a moſt flouriſhing condition, revered every where, and extending his conqueſts in France, till diſturbed by the ingratitude and unparalleled inſolence of Thomas à Becket, archbiſhop of Canterbury; who was ſolely indebted to Henry for all his preferments. This haughty prelate was ſon of Gilbert Becket, a citizen of London, by Matildis, ſaid to be the daughter of a Saracen, who had taken this Gilbert, Thomas Becket's father, priſoner, when he went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Thomas ſpent his youth in the ſtudy of the law. In proceſs of time, he was taken from thence, and made archdeacon of Canterbury. Shortly after, the king, taking a fancy to him, made him lord high chancellor. Now it was, that his pride began to be inſupportable. The very bits, in the bridles of his horſes, were ſilver. Attending the king, in the war of Tholouſe, he maintained, at his own expence, 700 knights, and 1200 foot. Haughty and inſolent as he was to every body elſe, he was all ſubmiſſion to the king; till Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, dying, he was promoted to that ſee, by the king's recom-

recommendation. Henry, who imagined he ſhould have a pliant archbiſhop, ready to ſacrifice every thing to his will, quickly found himſelf miſtaken. As ſoon as Becket was conſecrated, he ſent back the great ſeal to the king, and affected mortification and retirement. He knew the king was deſirous of reducing the power of the clergy within reaſonable bounds; and determines, from the moment he arrived to the pinnacle of preferment, to oppoſe it with all his might. The firſt occaſion of this famous quarrel happened A. D. 1163. One Philip de Broc, canon of Bedford, having committed a murder, the king would have had him capitally puniſhed: but this was oppoſed by Becket, who was for ſetting all eccleſiaſtics above king and law too. Matters at length came to that paſs, that Thomas, being condemned to impriſonment of body and confiſcation of goods, flies over to Flanders, in diſguiſe, and is received into the protection of Lewis, king of France. This was the latter end of the year 1163.

A. D. 1166, dies Henry's mother, the empreſs Matilda, *æt.* 64, and was buried, according to ſome, in the abby of Bec, in Normandy; according to others, in the ſuburbs of Roän. On account of her being daughter of a king (Henry I.) wife to an emperor (Henry IV.) and mother of a king (Henry II.) ſhe had this epitaph;

" *Ortu magna, viro major, ſed maxima partu,*
" *Hic jacet* Henrici *filia, ſponſa, parens.*"

The breach between Becket and his ſovereign ſtill continued. In November 1168, they held a conference, near Paris, in the preſence of the French king: when Henry made this propoſal to Becket; " Pay me the ſame regard, as the greateſt of your predeceſſors paid to the leaſt of mine, and I ſhall be ſatisfied." The pride and obſtinacy of the eccleſiaſtic would not let him promiſe this: ſo the conference came to nothing. In 1169, another

was

was held, at a place in France, called Mons Martyrum: but the prelate's inflexibility rendered it as fruitleſs as the firſt. A third was held, in 1170, at Montmirail, but without effect; and a fourth, the ſame year, at Amboiſe, where all difficulties were at length ſurmounted; chiefly through the good offices of Rotrou, archbiſhop of Roän. The reconciliation was ſincere on Henry's part; who, to convince the world of it, even condeſcended to hold the mad prelate's ſtirrup, as he mounted his horſe. Thus, after about ſeven year's exile, the imperious Becket was reſtored to his biſhopric and his country; whither he returned, with a reſolution to revenge his paſt diſgraces on the king, the very firſt opportunity that offered. Henry, though the injured party, was unfeigned in his reconciliation; but Becket, the aggreſſor, could never forgive his king whom he had inſulted. No ſooner is the furious prieſt returned to England, than he ſuſpends the archbiſhop of York, and excommunicates the biſhops of London, Durham, and Exeter, who had ſided with the king. The Chriſtmas-day following, mounting his archiepiſcopal chair at Canterbury, he ſolemnly excommunicates two barons; Nigel de Sackvil, and Robert Brock: the firſt, for detaining (as was alledged) a manor belonging to the ſee of Canterbury; the other, for cutting off the tail of an horſe, that was carrying proviſions to his palace. The truth is, he was determined to exerciſe his authority with an higher hand than ever; and to brave the king, by ſhewing him, he was not afraid to revive the antient quarrel. The excommunicated biſhops appeal to the king, who is ſtill in Normandy. Henry, tired and exaſperated at being inceſſantly plagued with the inſolence of a ſubject, whom he had raiſed from the duſt, could not help crying out; "How unhappy am I, that, among the great numbers I maintain, there is not a man dares revenge the affronts I perpetually receive from the hands of a

wretched prieſt." Theſe words were not dropt in vain. Four barons, who were in waiting, reſolved to free the king from this enemy. Their names were, Reginald Fitzurſe, William Tracey, Richard Britton, and Hugh Morvill. Landing in Kent, they repair to Canterbury; and, on the 30th of December, 1170, entering the cathedral, where the archbiſhop was at veſpers, they firſt upbraid him with his pride, obſtinacy, and ingratitude: to which he returned ſo reſolute an anſwer, as to give them occaſion to effect their purpoſe. One Edward Ryme, who was waiting on the archbiſhop, had his arm almoſt cut off, by receiving the firſt blow that was made at Becket's head, occaſioned by the archbiſhop's having called Fitzurſe, "a pimp." In ſhort, they hacked the prelate, with their ſwords, in ſuch a manner, that his blood and brains flew all over the altar. After committing this action, they retired peaceably; none offering to ſtop them. Not daring to return to the king, they went and ſtayed a yea at Knareſborough caſtle, in Yorkſhire, belonging to Hugh Morvill: after which, Hoveden ſays, they went to Rome, for abſolution: and were enjoined to go to Jeruſalem, and do penance on the Black Mountain for life. However, it is certain, that William Tracey retired to Mort, in Devonſhire, twenty-three years after the death of Becket.

The inſolent prelate poſſeſſed the qualifications of a Popiſh ſaint, in too eminent a degree, not to be canonized after his deceaſe: particularly that leading one, without which a man can be neither ſaint nor martyr in the court of Rome's account—a blind, abſolute attachment to the holy chair; and of conſequence, a deſire to elevate the hierarchy of antichriſt above all law, and the rights of mankind. Miracles (as uſual) were quickly aſcribed to the new ſaint; foreigners, in vaſt numbers, flocked, from all parts of Europe, to Canterbury, to implore an

intereſt

intereſt in his merits and interceſſion; and preſents, of immenſe value, were offered up to his tomb.

A. D. 1171, Henry reſumes his deſign of conquering Ireland; a deſign, which he had formed before, but found it neceſſary to defer, on account of his quarrel with Becket. The king, this year, had as fair an opportunity, as his heart could wiſh, of putting his deſire into execution. For, Dermot, king of Leinſter, having debauched and carried away the wife of O-Rorick, king of Meath; the latter, to be revenged, levied an army, and (with the help of Roderick, king of Connaught) invaded Dermot. Dermot (being abandoned by his own ſubjects, to whom his arbitrary meaſures had rendered him extremely odious) fled into France, where our king Henry then was, to implore his aid. Henry caught at the propoſal: but not being at leiſure to aſſiſt him himſelf, on account of the war he was carrying on in France, he gives Dermot leave to go into England, and obtain aſſiſtance from what barons he could until himſelf could ſupport him with ſtronger forces. Dermot comes accordingly, and makes an agreement with Robert Fitzſtephen, and Richard de Clare (ſurnamed Strongbow,) earl of Pembroke. To the firſt he gave hopes of his making a conſiderable fortune in Ireland: to the latter he promiſed his only daughter in marriage, and to ſettle the ſucceſſion on him. Fitzſtephen, being firſt ready, accompanies Dermot, into Ireland, with four hundred men. Landing at Waterford, the Iriſh king leads him before Wexford, which, being preſently taken, is given to Fitzſtephen, who there ſettles the firſt Engliſh colony ever planted in Ireland. After this exploit, Maurice de Prendergeſt, an Engliſh baron, arriving with freſh troops, reinforces Fitzſtephen's army to three thouſand; with which he next ſubdues the king of Oſſory. By this time, Roderick, the king of Connaught, takes the alarm; and offers Fitzſtephen a large ſum, if he would quit the

iſland: but in vain. Dermot himſelf enters into treaty with Roderick, to ſend away the Engliſh: when, juſt in the criſis, arrives the earl of Pembroke, with twelve hundred men. He marries Dermot's daughter; and, his father-in-law, dying ſoon after, the earl takes poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Leinſter. After the death of Dermot, the Engliſh adventurers make great progreſs: chiefly by means of their croſs-bows, with which the Iriſh were greatly intimidated, having never ſeen any (much leſs felt them) until then. In ſhort, the Engliſh advance to Dublin, and take it. Henry, hearing of this prodigious ſucceſs, grows jealous of the adventurers, and recalls them: on which Fitzſtephen, and the earl of Pembroke, ſend deputies, to aſſure him of their ſubmiſſion, and that their conqueſts were at his command; which ſo far appeaſed him, that he ſuffers them to ſtay in Ireland. A. D. 1172, Henry ſails in perſon, from the coaſt of Pembrokeſhire, into Ireland, with four hundred ſail. On his arrival, the Iriſh unanimouſly ſubmit. All the kings of the iſland waited on him at Waterford (where he landed,) and ſwore allegiance. Thus, ſays Rapin, Henry, without ſpilling one drop of blood, became maſter of Ireland, in leſs time, than was ſufficient to travel over it. After placing freſh garriſons at Waterford and Wexford, and ſome other maritime towns, he marched to Dublin: and there, without the city, had a palace, built of wattles, according to the faſhion of the country: and kept his court until the beginning of February. Having made, during his ſtay at Dublin, ſeveral regulations for the government of his new conqueſt, he ſet ſail again for England, after not quite four month's continuance in Ireland; leaving at Dublin, Hugh Lacy, to govern the iſland in his name, by the title and ſtile of, Juſticiary of Ireland. The earl of Pembroke died, A. D. 1176.

The

The ſame year that Henry left Ireland, he was abſolved, by the Pope's legate, of Becket's murder, upon terms equally advantageous to Pope and clergy, and diſhonourable to ſo great a king. Among the reſt, one was, that he ſhould go barefoot to Becket's tomb, and there, upon his naked back, receive four or five laſhes from each of the monks belonging to the monaſtery of St. Auſtin: which he actually ſubmitted to, the next year.

A. D. 1173, his queen (Eleanor of Guienne,) exaſperated at her huſband's frequent and open violations of his nuptial vow, enters into a conſpiracy with three of his ſons, Henry, Richard, (his ſucceſſor,) and Geoffrey; who, without any ſcruple, joined with her in the deſign of dethroning their father: but without effect; his vaſt ſucceſſes againſt Scotland, together with his rapid conqueſts in France, and all crowned with his reduction of the rebels in England, rendering their unnatural ſchemes abortive. His eldeſt ſon, Henry, died, A. D. 1183, with great ſigns of remorſe for his undutiful conduct. A. D. 1186, Richard openly revolts in France, but is obliged to make his ſubmiſſion. A. D. 1189, he diſcovers that his favourite ſon John had had a chief hand in exciting the troubles againſt him in France; and notwithſtanding the particular tenderneſs with which he had always treated that unworthy ſon, he had endeavoured, might and main, to dethrone him. His grief threw him into a diſorder, which ſoon carried him off: but not till after he had uttered the moſt bitter and terrible imprecations againſt his ſons, which he could never be prevailed with to revoke. He died at Chinon, in Poictou, the 6th of July, 1189, *an. æt.* 57, *regn.* 35, and was interred at Font-Evraud. His ſurviving ſons, by Eleanor of Guienne, were, Richard and John, who both ſucceeded him. King Henry was valiant, prudent, generous, politic, ſtudious, learned, and of an exalted genius: but, on

the other hand, his haughtineſs, luſt and ambition, were boundleſs. His reign had been one ſeries of glory and happineſs, had it not been for the unfortunate quarrel with Becket, and the repeated rebellions of his ſons.

27. (6.) RICHARD I. (A. D. 1189—1196.)

Commonly called (for his valour, the only commendable quality he had) Cœur-de-lion, ſucceeded his father; and, in 1190, taking the cruſade, he ſets out for France, in order to go to the Holy Land: but not till he had releaſed his mother queen Eleanor, who had languiſhed in priſon for the laſt ſixteen years of her huſband's reign.

Sailing from Marſeilles, he makes himſelf, A. D. 1191, maſter of the iſle of Cyprus: Iſaac, king of that iſle, having ſtript and impriſoned ſome of Richard's army, who, on their way to Paleſtine, had been wrecked on the Cyprian coaſts. Iſaac, being taken priſoner at Limiſſo, beſought Richard not to put him in irons: but the Engliſh king, inſulting his misfortunes, granted his requeſt literally, and ordered him to be bound in fetters of ſilver. Being arrived in the Holy Land, Richard gives aſtoniſhing proofs of his valour: and embarking for Europe, A. D. 1192, the ſhip in which he was, ſuffered ſhipwreck between Aquileïa and Venice. After this, he imprudently ventures himſelf into the dominions of the duke of Auſtria, (whom he had mortally offended, when they were in Paleſtine together, at the ſiege of Acres) where, though diſguiſed as a pilgrim, and travelling on foot, he was diſcovered, ſeized, at a ſmall village near Vienna, and delivered to the duke; by whom he was afterwards given up to the emperor, Henry VI. who, without any ceremony, clapt him into cloſe confinement. During this time, his brother John was trying in England to take advantage of Richard's impriſonment,

priſonment, and raiſe himſelf to the throne: and, the better to ſucceed in his deſign, laboured all he could with the emperor, to detain his illuſtrious priſoner; and entered into cloſe treaty with Philip, of France, who from motives both of policy and revenge (for they had differed much and often in the Holy Land,) had nothing more at heart than to embroil Richard's affairs.

Mean while, Eleanor, the queen-dowager, tried all ſhe could to counteract the ambition of her younger ſon, and procure Richard's enlargement. But the obſtacles were many: the Pope refuſed to interfere in his favour; the emperor, who detained the king, was inſatiably covetous; and the French king, together with prince John of England, had offered the emperor very highly, if he would make Richard's confinement perpetual. However, chiefly through the repreſentations made by the Diet of the Empire, Richard is at length ſet at liberty, upon paying the emperor 100,000 marks of ſilver, and giving hoſtages for the payment of 50,000 more. The emperor quickly repented of his bargain; and ſent after Richard, in hopes of ſeizing him again: but the king had made too much haſte, and arrived ſafe at Sandwich, March 20, 1194, after four years abſence, fifteen months of which he had ſpent in priſon. His ſubjects received him with great demonſtrations of joy. His firſt care was to quell his brother John's faction; which done, he is re-crowned; and cauſes a ſentence to paſs againſt John, confiſcating his lands, and declaring him incapable of ſucceeding to the crown: but, at the interceſſion of their mother, queen Eleanor, he pardons John in the year 1195, at Roan, where, by her means, they had an interview. Being engaged in a war againſt Philip of France, he beſieges Chaluz; from the walls of which city, an archer ſhot him with an arrow, which, fixing in his ſhoulder, cloſe to his neck, proved his death; not ſo much from the real

mortality of the wound itſelf, as by the unſkilfulneſs of the ſurgeon that dreſt it. Perceiving himſelf near death, he bequeaths all his dominions to his brother John, and expires, A. D. 1199. By his own deſire, expreſſed in his laſt will, he was interred at Font-Evraud, in Anjou, at his father's feet; in teſtimony of his grief for the many ſorrows he had occaſioned him. Richard, though valiant beyond moſt men that ever lived, was yet, upon the whole, but a very indifferent king; who ſpared neither the lives, liberty, nor purſes of his ſubjects. His rebellion againſt his father; his inextinguiſhable thirſt of money; his ungovernable pride; and his unbounded luſt (even to the commiſſion, it is ſaid, of the ſin againſt nature;) will for ever, and indelibly, ſtain his memory. He left no iſſue by his wife, Berenguella of Navarre.

28. (7.) JOHN. (A. D. 1199—1216.)

Prince John ſucceeded to the throne, ſolely by teſtamentary right, i. e. by virtue of his brother's will; to the prejudice of Arthur, duke of Bretagne, ſon to Geoffrey, (third ſon of Henry II.) John's elder brother. [It ſhould have been obſerved, in its proper place, that prince John was, in the reign of his father Henry, A. D. 1185, made chief governor of Ireland. The king intended to have crowned him monarch of that iſland, and the Pope had, for that purpoſe, ſent over a crown of peacock's feathers interwoven with gold: but, on ſecond thoughts, Henry laid aſide his deſign, for fear of ſtrengthening the ambition, and enflaming the jealouſy of his other ſon Richard. John was well received in his government, at firſt; but, in a ſhort time, ſo alineated the hearts of the Iriſh, that Henry was obliged to recall him.]

John's reign in England was a ſeries of diſquiet and misfortune, both to himſelf and his people. The chief events were theſe.

1. The

1. The loſs of almoſt all the Engliſh dominions in France, conquered from him by Philip Auguſtus, the French king.

2. A. D. 1215, the barons take arms in the cauſe of liberty; make themſelves maſters of London; and beſiege the king, in the Tower: who is forced to yield, and, in fact, throw himſelf on their mercy. In conſequence of this ſucceſs,

3. They oblige him to ſign *Magna Charta*; which he does in the open air, in a meadow called Runnemead, between Staines and Windſor, June 5, 1215, at the ſame time, he ſigned the Charter of Foreſts.

4. John, who had ſigned theſe charters with no intention to keep them, got the Pope to abſolve him of his oath. Retiring to the Iſle of Wight, he waits the arrival of foreign troops whom he had ſent for; on whoſe coming, as they did in ſhoals, the barons retreat to London; and the whole kingdom is ravaged by a mercileſs army of foreign ſavages, divided into two bodies, one headed by John himſelf, the other by his natural brother William (ſirnamed Longſword) earl of Saliſbury, king Henry's ſon by Roſamond Clifford. Never was England in ſo ſad a condition. The confederate barons, in deſpair, make an offer of the crown to prince Lewis (ſon of Philip, king of France) who afterwards mounted the French throne by the name of Lewis VIII. King Philip promiſes to aſſiſt them; vaſt preparations are made in France; prince Lewis, in the beginning of 1216, lands at Sandwich, takes Rocheſter, and ſees himſelf, on a ſudden, maſter of almoſt all the ſouth of England. But,

5. The meaneſt thing, which even John the meaneſt as well as worſt of princes, ever did, was his reſignation of his crown on his knees, to Pandulph, the Pope's legate, in Dover church, A. D. 1213. He layed the crown, and other regalia, at Pandulph's feet (as repreſentative of the Pope;) offering at the ſame time, a ſum of money, by way of tribute,

tribute, which the humble legate, to ſhew the grandeur of his maſter, ſpurned with his foot. John then ſigned a reſignation of the kingdom of England and lordſhip of Ireland, to the Pope. The legate kept the crown and ſceptre five days; and then reſtored them to John, as a vaſſal of the holy ſee. The next year, 1214, he reſigns his crown a ſecond time to the Pope [who was Innocent the XIIth] in the perſon of Pandulph, at Weſtminſter.

Whilſt Lewis is in England, John, after the misfortune of loſing all his baggage by a flood, in the marſhes on the borders of Lincolnſhire and Norfolk, falls ſick, and dies at Newark, October 18, 1216, and is buried, without pomp, at Worceſter.

From every part of his conduct, both before and after his acceſſion to the crown, it is evident, that John was one of the worſt men that ever lived; and one of the worſt kings that ever reigned.

29. (8.) HENRY III. (A. D. 1216—1272.)

Henry, ſon to John by his third wife, Iſabel of Angouleme, ſucceeded his father, at the age of ten years. Prince Lewis of France was ſtill in the kingdom, puſhing his conqueſts. But, after the coronation of young Henry, Lewis meeting with little ſucceſs, returns to France, A. D. 1217.

Henry proved a very bad king; though bad as he was, he appeared to ſome advantage, after the reign of a worſe, his father and predeceſſor.

Henry's genius was wretched and deſpicable, he was a ſlave to his favourites; and, by his high notions of kingly power, made both himſelf and his people unhappy. He was haughty, capricious, deceitful, and covetous; yet though covetous, he was not rich; not having ſenſe enough to manage the money he ſo inſatiably thirſted after. His treatment of the barons; his confirmations and violations of the charters, demonſtrate, that he paid no ſort of regard to his word, his bond, or the moſt ſolemn

ſolemn oaths. But, with all his other vices, he was not incontinent. In a word, there have been, in ſome reſpects, worſe kings in England; but few characters more truly contemptible, than Henry the third. James the firſt, if any, exceeding him in the latter.

Returning from Norwich, A. D. 1272, (where he had been to puniſh ſome rioters) he was taken ill at St. Edmund's Bury; but, continuing his journey, reached London, where he died the ſixteenth of November, *æt.* 66, *regn.* 56, and was buried at Weſtminſter. By his wife, Eleanor of Provence, he had two ſons, Edward and Edmund; the former of whom ſucceeded him.

30. (9.) EDWARD I. (A. D. 1272—1307.)

Edward (the firſt of that name, ſince the Conqueſt; but the fourth from Egbert) ſurnamed Longſhanks, was in Sicily when his father's death was notified to him. The Engliſh had conceived a very great eſteem for him, during the late reign, owing to the proofs he had given both of his valour and clemency; he ſucceeded without oppoſition, the barons even ſwearing allegiance to him in his abſence. He did not arrive in England, until the year 1274; after which he was preſently crowned. The chief events of his reign were,

1. His wars with Lewellyn, prince of Wales; which, at length, A. D. 1282, ended in his entire reduction of that important country (by the battle of Snowdon, in Caernarvonſhire, in which Lewellyn's forces were defeated, and himſelf ſlain;) which, A. D. 1283, he united to England. After his victory, Edward builds the caſtle of Aberconway, at the foot of Snowdon-hill. A. D. 1284, the king had a ſon (afterwards the unfortunate Edward II.) born at Caernarvon.

2. A. D. 1296, in the battle of Dunbar, he conquers Baliol, king of Scotland; ſoon after which,

Baliol

Baliol comes to Kincardin, where Edward was, and makes a formal reſignation of his kingdom to Edward; ſigning at the ſame time, an inſtrument of expreſs conveyance, to which the great ſeal of Scotland was affixed, and the greateſt part of the Scotch barons likewiſe ſet their hands. Afterwards, Edward received homage from the ſtates of Scotland, who, repairing to Berwick, ſwore allegiance to him.

☞ Now it was, that Edward removed the Scotch regalia into England; together with the famous ſtone, on which the inauguration of the Scotch kings was always performed. The hiſtory of this ſtone is as follows: Keneth II. king of Scots, having, A. D. 840 (ſoon after the ſucceſſion of Ethelwulph, the ſecond king of England) given the Picts a total defeat, near the monaſtery of Scone, placed a ſtone there (which fabulous tradition reported to be the ſame that ſerved Jacob for a pillow,) and incloſed it in a wooden chair, for the inauguration of the kings. It had been brought out of Spain into Ireland, by Simon Breccus; afterwards, out of Ireland into Scotland. This ſtone the Scots, for many ages, looked upon as their palladium; on the preſervation of which, and its continuance in their nation, depended their ſovereignty and independency as a kingdom. On it was engraved the following diſtich:

"*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum*
"*Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*"

This ſtone Edward conveyed to Weſtminſter Abbey, (where it ſtill continues) to make the Scots believe that the time appointed for the diſſolution of their monarchy was really come.

3. The next year, A. D. 1297, one William Wallace, a man of mean birth, but great genius, excites the Scots to revolt. Matters come to that paſs, that, in 1299, all the Engliſh are forcibly driven out of Scotland. A. D. 1306, Edward carries

ries his arms into Scotland, and a third time, ſees himſelf maſter of that kingdom. But another revolution happening there ſoon after, Edward, exaſperated to the laſt degree, reſolved (to uſe his own phraſe) "utterly to deſtroy all Scotland, from ſea to ſea."

Vaſt preparations were made; an army was gathered, the fineſt England had ever ſeen; Edward marches to Carliſle, with full intent to make good his threats. But Providence ſuddenly put an end to his days and his projects. Finding himſelf taken ill, and knowing he ſhould die, he ſent for his ſon, and exhorted him to theſe three things:

1. Vigorouſly to puſh the war againſt Scotland, and to carry his bones with him, at the head of the army.

2. Never to recall Gaveſton (an infamous young man, a great favourite with the prince, but whom the king had formerly baniſhed, as a corrupter of his ſon).

3. To ſend his heart to the Holy Land.

Then, deſirous, if poſſible, to die in Scotland, a country he had thrice conquered; he moved, by eaſy journies, toward that kingdom. When he had advanced as far as the little town of Burgh upon the Sands, in Cumberland, he there reſigned his laſt breath, July 7, 1307, aged ſixty-eight, after a moſt glorious reign of more than thirty-four years and an half. His body was removed to Weſtminſter, and interred near Edward the Confeſſor: upon his tomb is this line;

"*Edwardus primus, Scotorum Malleus, hic eſt.*"

He was remarkably tall and handſome; but ſtill more diſtinguiſhed by the excellencies of his mind. His virtue was both eminent and univerſal; if we except his implacable enmity to Scotland, and his ambition; of which latter he had, perhaps, too great a ſhare. His only ſurviving ſon, by his wife, Eleanor

ſo

of Caſtile, was his ſucceſſor, who aſcended the throne by the name of

31. (10.) EDWARD II. (A. D. 1307—1327.)

The ſecond of this name, ſince the Conqueſt; the fifth ſince Egbert. He was commonly called, Edward of Caernarvon, from the place of his nativity. No ſooner was he on the throne, than, in violation of his oath made to his father ſome years back, and of his promiſe to him on his death-bed, he recalls his old favourite, Piers Gaveſton (he was a Gaſcon by birth; the handſomeſt young man of his age, and as profligate as handſome,) which was the original ſpring of all his troubles afterwards. A. D. 1311, he is obliged by the barons to rebaniſh Gaveſton; but within a few months, recalls him. A civil war being raiſed, Gaveſton is beſieged and taken, in Scarborough Caſtle, by the earl of Pembroke, and his head is preſently after ſtruck off, by the earl of Warwick. A. D. 1319, a new brace of favourites having ſucceeded Gaveſton in the king's affections, viz. the two Spencers, father and ſon, Edward is forced to baniſh theſe two; but quickly recalls them. At length, A. D. 1326, his queen, Iſabel of France (infamous for her affection to Roger Mortimer, the younger; to which, however, ſhe was, probably, firſt induced by the king's criminal paſſion for the late Gaveſton, and afterwards by the continual inſults and mortifications ſhe was forced to put up with from the ſucceeding favourites) found means to raiſe a faction againſt him; which faction, being ſupported by her brother Charles the Fair, king of France, ends in Edward's depoſition, A. D. 1327, by his own parliament, which declare his ſon (Edward III.) king in his room. But the prince, being unwilling to accept the crown, without his father's conſent, ſolemnly vowed he never would: on which, the parliament ſend deputies to Edward, now in confinement at Kenelworth Caſtle,

to

to perſuade, or rather force him, to reſign the crown to his ſon; which, finding there was no remedy, he was obliged to do. Thus ended the reign of Edward II; a prince, not entirely deſtitute of all good qualities, but of a very mean capacity, and ruined by an obſtinate attachment to his favourites, whom he would never willingly part with, though petitioned ever ſo humbly and frequently by an injured nation. [This unfortunate monarch, after his depoſition, was kept priſoner, by his wife, in Kenelworth Caſtle, for ſome time: but dreading his reſtoration, ſhe, in concert with her paramour, Roger Mortimer, ordered Sir John Maltravers and Sir Thomas Gurney to remove Edward from Kenelworth to Berkeley Caſtle: where he was very ſoon murdered in his bed. A pillow was firſt laid on his mouth, to prevent his cries from being heard; and then, thruſting a pipe of horn up his body, they ran a red-hot iron through that, and ſo burnt his bowels. All this happened in the year 1327. He lies in Glouceſter Cathedral. As to queen Iſabel (her ſon, the young king, being a minor) ſhe and Mortimer, earl of March, ſeized on the government until the new king ſhould come of age: and, partly by their infamous and avowed paſſion for each other; and, partly, through the haughty and oppreſſive manner in which they governed; the king her ſon, A. D. 1330, ſtript her not only of her power, but alſo of her dowry, and confined her to her houſe at Riſings, near London, where, after an impriſonment of twenty-eight years, ſhe died, A. D. 1358. As to her gallant, the earl of March, being impeached of high treaſon, before the parliament, and found guilty, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn (then called Elms,) A. D. 1330. His deſcendants, by the female line, mounted, afterwards, the throne; as we ſhall ſee hereafter: [viz. Edward IV. Edward V. and Richard III.]

32. (11.) EDWARD III. (VI.) (A. D. 1327—1377.)

Called, from the place of his birth, Edward of Windſor. His reign was long and glorious; of which the chief events were,

1. The downfal of his mother, queen Iſabel, and Mortimer, A. D. 1330, as related above.

2. The birth of his ſon, prince Edward, at Woodſtock, A. D. 1330, who proved one of the greateſt ornaments to mankind, that this or any nation ever produced. From a ſuit of black armour, which he uſually wore in fight, he was called Edward the Black Prince. He was made duke of Cornwall, A. D. 1337, and was the firſt perſon that ever bore the dignity of duke in England. He married his couſin, Johanna, of Kent (commonly called the Fair,) Counteſs Dowager of Holland, and daughter of Edmund, earl of Kent, who was beheaded in the beginning of this reign, by the intrigues of Iſabel and Mortimer. By her he had one ſon, afterwards Richard II. Prince Edward died of a fever, June 8, 1376, *æt.* 46, inexpreſſibly lamented by the king his father, and the whole nation. He lies in the cathedral of Canterbury. It was ſaid of him (as it was afterwards of the duke of Marlborough) that he never went on an expedition, in which he did not ſucceed; nor ever undertook a ſiege, which he did not carry.

3. A. D. 1333, King Edward, by gaining the battle of Halydon-hill, reduces Berwick upon Tweed, and annexes it for ever to the crown of England. In this, and two or three of the following years, he, more than once, makes himſelf maſter of Scotland.

4. A. D. 1340, he aſſumes the title of king of France, and quarters the arms of that kingdom with his

his own; ſubjoining, for motto, *Dieu & mon droit.* [N. B. Upon the death of Charles the Fair, king of France, in 1329, Edward, as nephew of that monarch (who was brother to Iſabel, the queen dowager of England, mother of Edward) laid claim to the crown. But, Philip de Valois ſucceeding by virtue of the ſalique law, Edward took the firſt opportunity of making war upon him.]

5. The year 1346 was remarkable for the famous battle of Creſſy, in which king Edward, and his glorious ſon, the Black Prince, did wonders almoſt more than human. With an army of 30,000 men they beat Philip, at the head of 100,000. Edward, ſeeing that victory would probably declare for his troops, purpoſely leaves the honour of the day to his ſon, and ſtood off, on a riſing ground, where he could ſee the iſſue of the fight. The prince having routed the greater part of the French forces, there yet remained one body to reduce, commanded by the king of Bohemia. Toward this, the heroic prince directed his ſteps. The enemy give way; multitudes drop; the remainder fly, and are purſued with incredible ſlaughter. The old king of Bohemia was ſlain, as he wiſhed to be, fighting for France; and his ſtandard (on which were embroidered, in gold, three oſtrich feathers, with this motto, *Ich Dien*, i. e. I ſerve, alluding to his being in the ſervice of France) was taken and brought to the Black Prince, who, in memory of the event, bore, from thenceforward, three oſtrich feathers in his coronet (as his ſucceſſors have done ever ſince,) and adopted the motto for his own. In this famous battle, the Engliſh firſt made uſe of cannon: a thing yet unheard of among the French. The field of action were the plains between Abberville and Creſſy, in Picardy. The day was Saturday, Auguſt 24. France loſt eleven princes; upwards of eighty ſtandards; 1200 knights; and about 30,000 ſol-

diers. The Black Prince was juſt turned of the ſixteenth year of his age, at this time.

6. A. D. 1347, the king takes Calais (which continued in the hands of the Engliſh, until the reign of Mary the bloody, when it was taken, for the French king, by the duke of Guiſe, A. D. 1558.)

7. In 1348, one half of the nation is ſwept away by a moſt dreadful plague.

8. Philip de Valois, the French king, dying in 1350, is ſucceeded by his ſon, John; who being, A. D. 1356, taken priſoner by the Black Prince, at the battle of Poictiers, is, the year following, conducted to London. Thus there were, at one time, two kings priſoners in England; John, of France; and David, king of Scotland, who was confined at Odiham, in Hampſhire.

9. The king inſtitutes the Order of the Garter, A. D. 1349.

10. In 1359, he ravages France, to the very gates of Paris.

11. In 1369, dies Edward's queen, Philippa of Hainault; to whom he had been married forty-two years, and who was, in every reſpect, a moſt excellent princeſs. She lies at Weſtminſter.

12. A. D. 1377, that eminent inſtrument of God, John Wickliff, began to make a great figure.

And this ſame year, dies king Edward, of the ſhingles, at Shene (now Richmond, near London) June 21, *an. regn.* 51, *æt.* 65. He lies in the church of Weſtminſter.

In this prince's general character, every thing, that is great and good, was united. His greateſt foible was his falling in love with Alice Pierce (who had been lady of the bed-chamber, to his late queen,) in his old age, A. D. 1376, and making her his miſtreſs, againſt the united voice of his parliament and kingdom. But where is virtue without a foil?

33. (12.) RICHARD II. (A. D. 1377—1399.) ſurnamed, of Bourdeaux.

King Edward was ſucceeded by his grandſon, Richard (only ſon of Edward the Black Prince, by Johanna of Kent.)

Were virtue hereditary, this prince had been an ornament to the throne: but in every quality, he was the reverſe of his illuſtrious father. He acceded to the crown, at eleven years of age. His uncles, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter; and Edmund of Langley, earl of Cambridge (afterwards duke of York) govern the ſtate, until 1380; when Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, is made ſole governor of the king.

In 1381, happened the inſurrection of Wat Tyler; and, the ſame year, Richard marries Ann of Luxemburgh, ſiſter of the emperor Wenceſlaus.

About this time the king's diſpoſition began to ſhow itſelf. He appeared to be totally void of merit, but moſt extravagantly conceited: a ſlave to his pleaſures; and a dupe to flatterers, whom, unfortunately, he looked upon as his only friends. A. D. 1386, the nation is threatened with an invaſion from France; on which Richard calls a parliament, who refuſes to ſupply him, except he diſmiſſes his favouries; (the chief of whom were, Alexander Naville, archbiſhop of York; Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a moſt abandoned young man, but a darling of Richard's; Michael de la Pole, a merchant's ſon, of London; and judge Treſilian.)—Richard refuſes, and treats the parliament with the utmoſt diſreſpect, indecency, and contempt: but is, at length, forced to comply. After this, the parliament, as guardians of the nation they repreſented, found themſelves obliged ſo far to conſult the common ſafety, as to appoint fourteen commiſſioners, to govern jointly with the king.

No ſooner is the parliament broke, than he recalls his favourites, and loads them with greater honours than ever. In concert with theſe, A. D. 1387, he forms the deſign of making himſelf abſolute; and even gets the judges to decide, that the king is above law. The barons are neceſſitated to take up arms in their own and the people's defence: on which, Richard reſolves to go over into France, and, by the ſurrender of Calais and Cherburgh to the French king, obtains forces of him, to reduce and inſlave his ſubjects; but, the barons happily diſcovering the plot, it comes to nothing. At length, A. D. 1397, he ſo manages, as to pack a parliament to his mind; which he adjourns from Weſtminſter to Shrewſbury (whence this infamous aſſembly got the name of the Shrewſbury Parliament); where they carry the kingly power higher than any Engliſh monarch had yet pretended to. A. D. 1398, he confiſcates to himſelf all the eſtates of ſeventeen whole counties. This year dies John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, Richard's uncle. A. D. 1399, being in Ireland, to quell a rebellion there, a conſpiracy is formed againſt him here. The Engliſh malecontents invited over from France (whither he had been moſt unjuſtly baniſhed by Richard, who had alſo confiſcated his whole eſtate,) Henry (preſently after Henry IV.) duke of Hereford; or, rather, duke of Lancaſter. This prince was firſt couſin to Richard; being ſon to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, who was fourth ſon to Edward III. Richard's grandfather. Duke Henry, upon the ſtrength of this invitation, lands at Ravenſpur, in Yorkſhire; and ſoon ſees himſelf joined, in effect, by almoſt the whole kingdom. Some time after, Richard lands at Milford-haven, from Ireland, and, being at a loſs which way to turn, ſhuts himſelf up in the caſtle of Aberconway. Hither the duke of Lancaſter ſends deputies to him. To theſe, Richard makes

makes the offer of reſigning his crown, on condition that his own life, and the lives of eight more, to be named by him, ſhould be preſerved; and an honourable penſion be aſſigned to himſelf. Upon this he is removed to Flint Caſtle, where he and the duke of Lancaſter have an interview. From hence they travel together to London; where Richard is confined in the Tower. On September 29, the duke, attended with a great number of lords, goes to him (the day before the parliament was to meet); when Richard delivers up the regalia, and, with his own hand, ſigns an inſtrument, wherein he confeſſes himſelf unworthy and unfit to reign. The next day, the parliament being met, articles of accuſation were drawn up, conſiſting of thirty-three particulars; after which, the parliament, with one conſent, pronounced him depoſed. On this, the duke of Lancaſter, ſtanding up, and croſſing himſelf, claims the crown; which is unanimouſly adjudged to him.

Thus ended the reign of Richard II. who firſt ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by flattery; next, obſtinately adhered to his flatterers, though exclaimed againſt by all his people; and laſtly, to complete his misfortunes, aimed at rendering himſelf arbitrary and deſpotic: which three things were the united ſource of his ruin.

[After his depoſition, he was ſoon removed, by Henry, from the Tower of London, to Pontefract Caſtle, where he came by an unnatural end, in February, 1400. Some ſay, that he was ſtarved to death: others, that he was run through with a ſword, by Sir Piers Exton, who (they add) repaired to Pontefract for that very purpoſe. He died, aged thirty-three years; of which he had reigned twenty-two. His body was indecently buried at King's Langley, in Herts; but afterwards honourably removed to Weſtminſter, by Henry V. the firſt year of his reign.]

34. (13.) HENRY IV. (A.D. 1399—1413.)

Thus Henry IV. mounted the throne. He was, as ſaid above, ſon to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter (ſon to Edward the third, by queen Philippa) by his firſt wife, Blanch of Artois. Duke Henry's right was, no doubt, unqueſtionable in itſelf, becauſe it was a parliamentary one: but ſtill, if we go by hereditary ſucceſſion, there was one nearer the crown than he; viz. Edmund Mortimer, earl of March; who married Philippa, daughter to Lionel, duke of Clarence, third ſon of Edward III. by virtue of which marriage, the earl was (had the nation conſented) next heir to the crown.

Preſently after Henry's acceſſion, the parliament (not that which had depoſed Richard) paſt this extraordinary ſentence on the late king; viz. "That he ſhould be confined during life; and ſhould himſelf be the very firſt perſon put to death, if any ſhould attempt his deliverance." A conſpiracy being formed againſt Henry the next year, was, no doubt, the occaſion of Richard's untimely death, as related above, purſuant to ſentence of parliament.

Henry, every time he went to bed, had his crown laid upon his pillow. Some time before he died, being fallen into ſo ſtrong a fit, that he was ſuppoſed to have breathed his laſt, his ſon, prince Henry, (afterwards the glorious Henry V.) took it up and carried it away. The king, coming to himſelf, and miſſing the crown, enquired what was become of it? Being told, he ſent for his ſon, and aſked him, "whether he meant to rob him of his royalty, even before he was dead?" The prince, after a dutiful and affectionate anſwer, laid the crown in its place again.

Henry died March 20, 1413, *æt.* 46, having reigned thirteen years and an half, wanting a few days. He was far from making any great figure, while

while on the throne; nor yet was he deſpicable; eſpecially in point of valour. His main care was, to preſerve the crown he had acquired; which, tottering more than once, made him ſpend his days in a jealouſy, ſuſpicion, and continual alarm, hardly compatible with true peace of mind.

He was ſurnamed, of Bollingbroke, a town in Lincolnſhire, the place of his nativity.

The little regard he ſhewed for the liberties of his people; the death of Richard, his predeceſſor; and his being the firſt burner of the Wickliffites; will be everlaſting blots in his fame. He lies in the cathedral of Canterbury. By his firſt wife, Mary Bohun (daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford,) he had, beſides two daughters, four ſons; namely, Henry, his ſucceſſor; Thomas duke of Clarence; John, duke of Bedford; and Humphrey, created duke of Glouceſter, by his brother, Henry V.

In Henry IV's reign, flouriſhed William of Wickham, and Chaucer the poet.

35. (14.) HENRY V. (A. D. 1413—1422.)

Surnamed of Monmouth, ſucceeded his father. [He was, from his very childhood, of a warlike, enterpriſing diſpoſition; which his father obſerving with jealouſy, he was ſoon excluded from all civil and military employ. Reduced thus to a ſtate of idleneſs, his active genius would not ſuffer him to lie ſtill: he accordingly gave into all the exceſſes, which a prince of ſpirit and vivacity, corrupted by a ſet of young courtiers and flatterers, can be ſuppoſed to allow himſelf in. His court was the receptacle of libertines, buffoons and paraſites. And yet, amid all his extravagances, ſome rays of generoſity, virtue, and magnanimity, would diſcover themſelves on occaſion. A particular inſtance of his moderation, gave hopes to the people, that he would, one day, prove a beneficent king. A favourite ſervant of his being,

being, in the year 1412, arraigned for felony, before William Gaſcoigne, the lord chief juſtice; prince Henry, in hope of over-awing the judge by his preſence, ſat by during the trial. But his preſence not hindering the condemnation of the criminal, the prince was ſo enraged, that he gave the judge a box on the ear. The magnanimous chief juſtice immediately ordered him to be arreſted on the ſpot, and committed priſoner to the King's Bench. The prince, conſcious of his raſhneſs, and ſtruck, no doubt, with the impartiality and intrepidity of the judge, ſuffered himſelf to be led away to priſon, like a private perſon, without offering the leaſt reſiſtance. He is ſaid to have carried his frolics ſo far, as, among other pranks, to diſguiſe himſelf, and lay in wait for the receivers of his father's revenues, and, in the perſon of a highwayman, to ſet upon and rob them. In ſuch rencounters, he ſometimes happened to be ſoundly beat; but always rewarded ſuch of his father's officers, as made the ſtouteſt reſiſtance. In theſe wild ſallies, the famous Sir John Faſtolff, (corruptly called Falſtaff) was uſually one.]

Upon his acceſſion, he diſmiſſes all his former riotous companions; chuſes a council, compoſed of perſons moſt eminent for integrity and ability; and gave indiſputable proofs of a total reformation.—This great prince, on October 25, 1415, with an army of leſs than 10,000 men, beat the French army, conſiſting of 150,000. This memorable battle was fought in Artois, near the caſtle of Azincourt; from which the battle itſelf has taken it's name. In ſhort, within the courſe of four or five years, Henry made himſelf maſter of almoſt all France. At length, he died of a flux (others ſay, of an acute fever, attended with a dyſentery: and Peter Baſſett, who was his chamberlain, that he died of a pleuriſy,) at Vincennes, near Paris, Auguſt 31, 1422, aged thirty-four, after a ſhort, but moſt glorious reign of between nine and ten years. He

was

was a prince, who raiſed the Engliſh name, and his own, to the higheſt pitch of glory. He poſſeſſed every qualification, both of body and mind, requiſite to form the beſt, the greateſt, and moſt amiable of men. His ſeverity to the Lollards, in the beginning of his reign; and particularly his ſuffering that great and good man, Sir John Oldcaſtle, baron of Cobham, to fall a ſacrifice to the bigotry and cruelty of Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury; was the greateſt, perhaps the only real, blot in his reign. His body was brought into England, and buried at Weſtminſter. His queen (Catherine of France, whom he married in 1419,) cauſed a ſtatue of ſilver gilt, as large as the life, and extremely like him, to be laid on his tomb: but, about the latter end of Henry VIII. the head being of maſſy ſilver, was broken off and carried away, together with the plates of ſilver, that covered his trunk, which now remains alone, and is heart of oak. By his queen, he left only one ſon, an infant; who ſucceeded him, by the name of

36. (15.) HENRY VI. (A. D. 1422—1461.)

This mean and unfortunate prince was but nine months old, when his father died. John, duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, duke of Glouceſter, (ſons to Henry IV. brothers of the late, and uncles of the reigning king) are made the chief managers of affairs, the firſt in France, the latter in England. They conducted their adminiſtrations with the greateſt fidelity to their nephew, and with a prudence and vigour, which proved them to be perſons of the moſt eminent abilities. The Engliſh affairs went on well in France, until the year 1429, when Joan of Arc (a village in Lorrain, where ſhe was born) was raiſed up by Providence to turn the balance of ſucceſs in favour of the French. [This extraordinary young woman (commonly called, the Maid

Maid of Orleans, from her being preſent, when the Engliſh were forced to raiſe the ſiege of that city) was afterwards taken priſoner by the duke of Burgundy, at the ſiege of Compiegne, and delivered up to the duke of Bedford, who had her tried and burnt for a witch at Roan, where ſhe was executed, May 30, 1431.] Notwithſtanding a long train of loſſes and misfortunes on our ſide, Henry, being about nine years old, goes over, and is crowned king of France, at Paris, in 1430.

A. D. 1444, Henry marries Margaret of Anjou: who, inſtantly perceiving the weakneſs of his genius, ſo managed, as to rule him abſolutely, from the very day of her arrival. A. D. 1447, was remarkable for the murder of that noble, heroic, and amiable prince, Humphrey, duke of Glouceſter; whom Margaret could never forgive, becauſe he oppoſed her marriage with the king his nephew. She therefore joined with William de la Pole, marquis of Suffolk; Henry Beaufort (great uncle to the king and) biſhop of Wincheſter; and others of that faction, to accompliſh his deſtruction. Being impriſoned, on ſome falſe pretence, at Edmonſbury, where the parliament was then ſitting, he was found, the next morning, dead in his bed. This, and many other acts of violence, quite alienated the people from the queen and her miniſtry: who, at length, became ſo arbitrary and oppreſſive, that Richard, duke of York (deſcended from Lionel, duke of Clarence, ſon of Edward the third) began to caſt a longing eye on the crown. With this view, he, at ſeveral different times, raiſes armies. Particularly, in 1455, he engages with Henry, at St. Alban's: where Henry not only loſes the victory, but is likewiſe taken priſoner by the duke of York, by whom he is reſpectfully conducted to London: where the parliament made the duke protector of England; the ſovereignty being ſtill veſted in the king. A. D. 1460, the queen and her miniſtry form a project of putting

putting all the Yorkiſts to death; on which the duke of York, with other lords, put themſelves at the head of 40,000 men. Queen Margaret, who was aſſembling her forces at Coventry, marches toward London, in order to give the Yorkiſts battle. The earl of March (preſently after Edward IV.) ſon of the duke of York, together with two other lords, is detached, at the head of 25,000 men, to meet her. The two armies engage near Northampton; where Margaret is defeated, king Henry (who was in her camp) taken priſoner; and the enterprizing queen is forced to fly into the north. But, in the battle of Wakefield, ſoon after, Margaret is ſucceſsful, and the duke of York ſlain: which his ſon Edward, earl of March, hearing, loſes neither his courage nor his hopes. Heading his troops, he defeats the earl of Pembroke (near Mortimer's Croſs, in Herefordſhire,) who had been ſent againſt him by Margaret. The young earl, marching immediately to London, Margaret retires to the north. On his arrival in the city, he is received with open arms and univerſal acclamations. Henry is depoſed, by the joint conſent of the people, and ſuch of the nobility, magiſtracy, and gentry, as were in town; and the earl of March mounts the throne, by the name of

37. (16.) EDWARD IV. (VII.) (A. D. 1461—1483.)

[Thus ended, at preſent, the reign of Henry VI. Incapacity for public affairs, and a ſtupid inſenſibility of misfortune, appear to have been his chief characteriſtics. He was, however, remarkably moral; or rather innocent: not ſo much from principle, as for want of ſenſe, ſpirit, and activity, to be otherwiſe. After his marriage, queen Margaret (a woman of unbounded haughtineſs, and inſatiably fond of power) was the governing perſon: and by endeavouring

vouring to render the king (or, rather, herſelf, who, with her corrupt ſet of favourites, did every thing) abſolute maſter of the lives and properties of his ſubjects, occaſioned her own, her huſband's and her ſon's ruin, together with the ruin of the whole houſe of Lancaſter. It may not be amiſs, to obſerve, in this place, that Henry was, by the earl of Warwick's faction, releaſed from the Tower, on October 25, 1470, and reſtored to the throne: on which king Edward (who was forced to take ſhelter in the dominions of his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy) was, by the parliament which was called ſoon after, declared a traitor; his paternal eſtates confiſcated; and the ſtatutes of his reign annulled. But on the fourteenth of March following, Edward lands at Ravenſpur, in Yorkſhire; and, getting together ſome forces, marched to London: which opening her gates to him, he made his public entry into the city, April 17, 1471. Mean while, Henry, who ſeemed born for no other end than to be the ſport and football of fortune, was re-committed to the Tower, from whence, about ſix months before, he had been taken to remount the throne. Henry did not long ſurvive this reverſe of fortune: for Edward ſoon after, gaining the famous battle of Tewkeſbury (in which queen Margaret was taken priſoner, together with her ſon prince Edward, and her general, Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerſet,) the unfortunate Henry was diſpatched in his confinement: ſome ſay by the hands of Richard, duke of Glouceſter, (afterwards Richard the third,) the brother of king Edward. As to queen Margaret, ſhe was, upon the loſs of that battle, ſhut up in the Tower of London; where ſhe remained a priſoner, till A. D. 1475, when ſhe was ranſomed by her father (Renè, of Anjou, king of Sicily) for 50,000 crowns. As to her ſon, the heroic prince Edward, who was eighteen years of age, he was ſoon diſpatch-

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ed in cold blood; and the duke of Somerſet quickly loſt his head on the ſcaffold.]

King Edward was chiefly indebted, for his advancement, to Richard Neville, earl of Warwick. And through his incurring the reſentment of this earl, he had, two or three years after, almoſt loſt forever the crown he had gained by his means. The affair was this. In 1465, Edward ſends the earl of Warwick on embaſſy to the French king, Lewis XI. The earl's buſineſs was to demand Bona of Savoy, in marriage, for his maſter. Lewis conſents, and Warwick is not a little pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his negociation. But while this affair was tranſacting in France, Edward falls in love at home with Elizabeth Woodville, whom he ſaw by accident in Northamptonſhire. This young lady was a widow, (but in the full bloom of beauty) having been married to Sir John Grey, of Groby. She was daughter to Jaquelina of Luxemburg, ducheſs of Bedford, (relict of the famous John, duke of Bedford, ſon of Henry IV. and regent of France, in the reign of his nephew, Henry VI.) who had married Sir Richard Woodville. In ſhort, the king marries her, without ſending to conſult with the earl of Warwick: who, upon his return, was ſo incenſed at his being thus mocked, that he never forgave Edward afterwards; of which he convinced him, by actually dethroning him in the year 1470, as we have heard above: but, on Edward's recovery of the crown, the earl of Warwick was ſlain in the battle of Barnet, which was fought on Eaſter Sunday, April 14, 1471. The battle of Tewkeſbury, fought on the third or fourth of May following, was deciſive, and ſettled Edward firm on the throne for life. A. D. 1475, Edward has a conference with Lewis XI. of France, on Pequigny bridge, near Amiens, with a grate between them. In 1478, George, duke of Clarence, king Edward's brother, fell a ſacrifice to the jealouſy and reſentment of the queen, of his other brother the duke of Glouceſter, and of the king himſelf. Being, in

in a lame, underhand manner, condemned for treaſon; all the favour duke George could obtain of the king his brother, was, the liberty of chuſing what kind of death he pleaſed: on which, to avoid appearing on a ſcaffold, he deſires to be drowned in a butt of malmſey wine: which was done. Edward died the ninth day of April, 1483, *æt* 42, *regni*. 22, ſome ſay, he died of an ague; others, of a ſurfeit; and ſome, that he was poiſoned by his brother, Richard, duke of Glouceſter. He was, perhaps, the handſomeſt man in all Europe: valiant, affable, and naturally generous. But then he was certainly cruel on ſome occaſions; witneſs, in particular, the deaths of Henry the ſixth's ſon, prince Edward; king Henry the ſixth himſelf; and his own brother, the duke of Clarence. He was, at all times, luſtful and incontinent; and could be perfidious upon occaſion, when he had any turn to ſerve by it. His queen, Elizabeth Woodville, brought him three ſons and eight daughters. One of his ſons died an infant; the other two were murdered, as we ſhall ſoon ſee. The princeſs Elizabeth, his eldeſt daughter, was, in proceſs of time, married to Henry VII. Edward was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon.

38. (17.) EDWARD V. (VIII.) (A. D. 1483.)

This unfortunate young prince was between twelve and thirteen years old, at the time of his acceſſion. His reign (improperly ſo called,) or rather his life, ended within three months after. He was at Ludlow, in Shropſhire, when the king his father died: his uncle Richard manages ſo, that the queen dowager diſbands her troops: preſently after, he ſeizes on the young king at Stony Stratford. The queen mother, perceiving what theſe ſteps tended to, takes ſanctuary, by night, in Weſtminſter Abbey; carrying with her the duke of York, her younger ſon, aged nine years; and others of her family. The

The duke of Glouceſter conducts the king, in a very reſpectful manner, to London: where, calling a grand council, he gets himſelf declared protector. Having made ſuch alterations at court, as he thought neceſſary in order to his deſign, he moves, in council, to have the king's brother, Richard, duke of York, taken out of his mother's hands. The cardinal archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas Bourchier, is accordingly ſent to the queen at Weſtminſter: who, after much diſpute, and with a ſhower of tears, delivers him up to the prelate; who (little ſuſpecting what the protector had in view) delivered him to the duke of Glouceſter. This deſigning prince now pretended to carry on the preparations for the king's coronation: and, at once, to amuſe the people and favour his own plot, he removes his two nephews, from the biſhop of London's houſe, to the Tower (from whence the coronation-proceſſion generally uſed to begin). And now the villain communicates his intentions to Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham. This nobleman, upon a promiſe of certain lands belonging to the earldom of Hereford (which he had claimed during the late reign, but without ſucceſs,) readily came into Glouceſter's deſigns. Their emiſſaries next endeavour to ſcatter reports againſt the legitimacy of Edward the fourth and his children. Soon after, they hire one Dr. Shaw, a venal prieſt, but famous preacher; who, in a ſermon at Paul's Croſs, defamed the late king and his poſterity, and extolled Glouceſter to the ſkies. But this having no effect on the people, the duke of Buckingham harangues the citizens at Guildhall; preſſing them to petition Glouceſter to accept the crown. The people were ſhocked, and kept a profound ſilence. Buckingham then orders the recorder to addreſs them: after which, ſome of the mob, and others, hired before hand, cried out, Long live king Richard! next day Buckingham, with the lord mayor and others, waited on the protector, at

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his houſe in Thames-ſtreet, and offered him the crown: which, after a long ſcene of affectation and artifice, he accepted, and was, on June 22, 1483, proclaimed by the name of

39. (18.) RICHARD III. (A. D. 1483—1485.)

Preſently after his barefaced uſurpation of the crown, Richard reſolves on the deaths of his nephews, king Edward and the duke of York. In order to accompliſh his bloody deſign with the leſs odium to himſelf, he takes a journey to Glouceſter; from whence he ſent an expreſs command to Brackenbury, governor of the Tower, to murder the two princes. The governor excuſing himſelf, Richard ſends him an order in writing, requiring him to deliver to James Tyrrell, the bearer, the keys and government of the Tower, for one night. Brackenbury obeyed, and Tyrrell brought in his agents (whoſe names were, Miles Foreſt, and John Dighton) to execute the king's will. That very night, the two princes were ſmothered in their bed, and then buried under a little ſtair-caſe. At leaſt, this is what Tyrrell himſelf afterwards confeſſed, who was executed in the reign of Henry the ſeventh. The bones of the royal brothers were ſuppoſed to have been found, in the reign of king Charles the ſecond, A. D. 1674; who, upon the preſumption, had them put into a marble urn, and interred in Weſtminſter Abbey. Richard was hardly warm on the throne, when the duke of Buckingham claimed the lands of Hereford, purſuant to promiſe. But Richard had changed his mind, and refuſed to keep his word. Some ſay that is a miſtake; and that Richard gave him the lands agreed upon. However, it is certain that Buckingham, ſomeway or other diſguſted with Richard, retired in diſcontent to his caſtle at Brecknock: where Morton, biſhop of Ely, was confined by Richard. Here the duke and

and the biſhop conſult how they may dethrone the king. Henry, earl of Richmond, (ſoon after, Henry VII.) was the perſon on whom they fixed for the crown. [This prince, with his uncle Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, had embarked for France, A. D. 1471, ſoon after the battle of Tewkeſbury; but, being driven on the coaſt of Bretagne, they were detained by the duke of that county, who aſſigned them the town of Vannes for their habitation, with an honourable allowance: but though they were treated in a ceremonious manner, they were kept againſt their wills, and very narrowly watched.] The earl of Richmond's mother, Margaret, counteſs of Richmond, (only daughter of John Beaufort, duke of Somerſet; grandſon of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, fourth ſon of Edward III.) was informed of the plot, by one Reginard Bray, whom the duke of Buckingham and biſhop of Ely had ſent to acquaint her with it. She was told, at the ſame time, that in order to bring matters to bear, the earl her ſon muſt marry the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. and deſired her (the counteſs) to apply to the queen mother for her conſent: ſhe did ſo, and obtained it. The counteſs then ſent to her ſon (ſtill in Bretagne), who imparting the affair to the duke of Bretagne, was enabled, by his aſſiſtance, to appear on the coaſt of England: but, meeting with a ſtorm, was obliged to put back. Mean while Richard calls a parliament, by which the earl of Richmond is attainted: and it being diſcovered, that the earl's marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, was the baſis of the plot, Richard contrives to make away with his queen (Ann Neville, daughter of Richard Neville, earl of Warwick) in order to marry his niece, the princeſs Elizabeth, himſelf: in which, however, he did not ſucceed. The biſhop of Ely having made his eſcape from the caſtle of Brecknock, flies into Flanders: the duke of Buckingham is betrayed into Richard's hands,

and beheaded at Shrewſbury.—The earl of Richmond, on his return to Bretagne, finding it unſafe for him to ſtay there, eſcapes into France, and puts himſelf under the protection of Charles VIII. who reſolves to aſſiſt him. Auguſt 6, 1485, the earl lands at Milford Haven. From thence advancing to Shrewſbury and Litchfield, (his army continually increaſing all the way,) he goes to Boſworth, in Leiceſterſhire, where the two competitors met, each at the head of his army. Victory declares for the earl. Richard, ſeeing the day loſt, ruſhed, in deſpair, among the thickeſt of the enemy, and fell, covered with wounds: having enjoyed the crown but two years and two months, which he had gained by ſo many ill actions. This battle was fought Auguſt 22, 1485. Richard's body being found among the ſlain, ſtark naked, covered with blood and dirt, was, in that condition, thrown croſs an horſe, with his head hanging on one ſide, and his legs on the other, and ſo carried to Leiceſter: where, after being two days expoſed to public view, it was, without ceremony, interred in St. Mary's church. The ſtone coffin, in which his corps lay, was made a drinking trough for horſes, at the White Horſe Inn, in Leiceſter. He was aged about three or four and thirty years. With him ended the race of Plantagenet in England.

40. (19.) HENRY VII. (A. D. 1485—1509.)

Earl Henry, having gained the battle of Boſworth, cauſed *Te Deum* to be ſung on the ſpot; all the troops falling on their knees, to bleſs God for the victory. Preſently after, he is proclaimed king by his army. [It may now be proper to trace the pedigree of this prince. Catherine of France, widow of Henry V. married Owen Tudor, a Welſh gentleman, of mean deſcent, but the handſomeſt man of the age. By him, ſhe had three ſons; Edmund, Jaſper,

Jaſper, and Owen. Edmund was created earl of Richmond, by his half-brother Henry VI. who gave him to wife, Margaret, only daughter of John Beaufort, duke of Somerſet (grandſon to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, fourth ſon of Edward the third.) From this marriage, of Edmund with Margaret, ſprung Henry VII. who was, conſequently, grandſon to Henry the fifth's widow, by his father's ſide; and, by his mother's, the fifth from Edward III.] With regard to Henry's acceſſion, or rather military election, there is one particular deſerves to be conſidered. Either the next heir, of the York line, ought to have ſucceeded; or the next heir of the Lancaſtrian. If of the former, then Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward the fourth, ſhould have ſucceeded, in her own right, immediately on the death of Richard the third, and earl Henry ſhould have actually married her, previous to his aſſuming the title of king: or, if the Lancaſtrian houſe ought to have ſucceeded, there was one before Henry: I mean his mother, Margaret, counteſs dowager of Richmond, who was ſtill living *. So that, either way, by Henry's aſcending the throne when he did, the line of regular ſucceſſion was broke. Such a cobweb, ſuch a ſhadow, is what ſome pompouſly call "Indefeaſible hereditary right!"

Marching up to London, he is well received in that city. There he inſtitutes the yeomen of the guard. He is crowned, October 30, previous to the ſitting of parliament, which did not meet until November 7. And January 18, 1486, he is married to the princeſs Elizabeth; to whom his deteſtation of the houſe of York, made him a very indifferent, not to ſay, bad huſband. That ſame year, he confines his mother-in-law, the queen dowager, Edward the fourth's widow, in the monaſtery of Bermondſey, Southwark; where ſhe continued, deprived both

* She did not die until the firſt of Henry VIII.

of liberty and eſtates, until her death, which did not happen until ſeveral years after. She was buried at Windſor, by the ſide of her royal huſband, Edward IV. Scarce was Henry warm on the throne, than he was diſturbed by Lambert Simnel, a baker's ſon, who (through the contrivances of one Richard Simon, an Oxford prieſt) paſſed with many for Richard duke of York, ſon of Edward the fourth, who had been murdered by Richard the third. Simnel was, at this time, about fifteen years old. Paſſing into Ireland, he is proclaimed and actually crowned at Dublin. Returning, ſome time after, to England, with an army compoſed of Iriſh and Germans, and headed by the earls of Lincoln and Kildare, his troops give battle to Henry, June 6, 1487, at Stoke, in Nottinghamſhire. Victory declares for Henry; the earl of Lincoln is ſlain; and Simnel himſelf, being taken priſoner, is made a turnſpit in the kitchen of the monarch he ſought to dethrone. In the year 1493, Margaret, dutcheſs of Burgundy, (daughter of Richard duke of York, [who was ſlain in 1460, at the battle of Wakefield,] and ſiſter of Edward IV.) in hopes of diſpoſſeſſing Henry, and reſtoring her own houſe of York to the crown, ſat up one Perkin Warbeck, to perſonate her nephew, Richard duke of York, whom Richard the third, her brother, had murdered in the Tower. [This Perkin Warbeck was ſon to John Oſbeck, a converted Jew, of Tournay, who had long lived in London. King Edward IV. being acquainted with this Jew, ſtood godfather to one of his children; to whom he gave the name of Peter; from whence was formed the diminutive, Peterkin, or Perkin. The boy was ſo handſome, and endowed with qualities ſo far above his birth, that many ſuſpected him to be the illegitimate child of Edward: and, indeed, it is ſomething extraordinary, that that prince ſhould ſtand godfather to one of ſo mean parentage.] The young impoſtor acted his part ſo well, that, for

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at leaſt five years together, he gave Henry infinite alarm and uneaſineſs; and, more than once, made him ſhake in his throne. At length, being forced to ſurrender, he was hanged, November 23, 1499; after having been acknowledged for lawful king in Ireland, France, Flanders, England, and Scotland.

In the beginning of 1502, Henry's daughter, the princeſs Margaret, is married to James IV. of Scotland: from which marriage ſprung, in proceſs of time, James the firſt of England.

Toward the latter end of his reign, Henry gave full range to his avarice; and, without regard to equity, juſtice, or common humanity, plundered his ſubjects, to fill his coffers. His two chief tools for this purpoſe were Sir Richard Empſon, and Edmund Dudley. [But theſe two infamous oppreſſors of their country paid dear for their activity, in the following reign; being, both, beheaded on Tower-hill, Auguſt 17, 1510.]

After a reign of near twenty-four years, Henry died at Richmond, April 22, 1509, *æt.* 52. By his queen, Elizabeth, (daughter of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville) he had four ſons, and four daughters. Prince Arthur, the eldeſt, died, A. D. 1502, at Ludlow Caſtle, (where he was ſent to keep reſidence as prince of Wales,) *æt.* 17, and was buried at Worceſter. Henry, his ſecond ſon, ſucceeded him. Edmund and Edward died in their childhood; as did two of his daughters, Elizabeth and Catherine: Margaret (as has been obſerved) married James the fourth of Scotland; and Mary married firſt Lewis the twelfth of France; and after his death, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, reckoned the handſomeſt man of the age.

As to the character of Henry, it is very far from an amiable one. His two grand objects were, to preſerve the crown he had acquired, and to heap up money. In enmity he was implacable; and his avarice was inſatiable. His temper was gloomy,

moroſe, haughty, and ſuſpicious. His inextinguiſhable abhorrence of the houſe of York, together with his affectation of deſpotiſm on all occaſions, and his rapacious covetouſneſs, which knew no bounds either of juſtice or mercy, are indelible ſtains on his memory. If he was, in many reſpects moral, it ſeems to have been more owing to the phlegm of his conſtitution, than to principle. That he was extremely politic, is certain: but this was not ſo much the effect of genius, as of diſtruſt, which made him forever uneaſy, and forever on his guard. He lies in his own chapel at Weſtminſter.

He rebuilt the palace of Shene, near London, after it had been burnt down; and gave it the name of Richmond (from his having been earl of Richmond,) which it ſtill bears.

41. (20.) HENRY VIII. (A. D. 1509—1547.)

Succeeded his father, at the age of eighteen years, wanting two months and ſix days. He had the advantage of a very learned education, for a prince; and was alſo a diſtinguiſhed maſter of the heroic exerciſes then in uſe. The year he came to the crown he married his brother Arthur's widow, Catherine of Arragon; purſuant to his late father's intention and deſire. The principal events of this reign were,

1. The riſe, proſperity, and fall of Thomas Wolſey; who, from being no more than a butcher's ſon at Ipſwich, where he was born in 1471, was advanced to the higheſt honours, both ſecular and eccleſiaſtical. He commenced A. B. at Oxon, at the age of fourteen; was ſoon after elected Fellow of Magdalen, and A. D. 1500, preſented, by the marquis of Dorſet, to the rectory of Lymington, in Somerſetſhire: where he had not long reſided, before he was ſet in the ſtocks for drunkenneſs, and raiſing a riot at a fair in the neighbourhood. Being made chaplain

chaplain to Henry VII. in 1506, he inſinuated himſelf into the favour of Richard Fox, biſhop of Winton; by whoſe recommendation he was ſent ambaſſador from that king to the emperor Maximilian, and, upon his return, made dean of Lincoln. Upon the acceſſion of Henry VIII. biſhop Fox introduced him to the new king, who, for many years together, thought he could never give him ſufficient marks of his regard. In 1513, he became prime miniſter; in 1514, biſhop of Lincoln; adminiſtrator of the ſee of Tournay in Flanders, and archbiſhop of York; in 1515, he received a cardinal's hat; was made lord chancellor; adminiſtrator of the biſhopricks of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford; together with the addition of ſeveral prebendaries to increaſe his revenues.

End of the Chronology.

FREE THOUGHTS

ON THE

PROJECTED APPLICATION

TO PARLIAMENT,

In the Year M.DCC.LXXI.

FOR THE ABOLITION OF

ECCLESIASTICAL SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Hold fast that thou haſt; that no Man take thy Crown.
Rev. iii. 11.

FREE THOUGHTS, &c.

" To be impugned, from without; and betrayed, from within; is certainly the worſt condition a Church can fall into: and the beſt of churches, the Church of England, has had experience of both. It had been to be wiſhed, and (one would think) might have been expected, that, when Providence had took the work, of deſtroying the Church of England, out of the Papiſts hands, ſome would have been contented with her preferments, without either attempting to give up her rites and liturgy, or deſerting her doctrine. But it has happened much otherwiſe."

Dr. South's Pref. to his Animadv. on Sherlock.

IN conſequence of an Advertiſement, which made its appearance in the London papers, ſome clergymen lately met, at the Feathers Tavern, in the Strand, to conſult upon ways and means of applying to parliament, for " relief in the matter of ſubſcription to the Liturgy and xxxix Articles." About fourſcore, I am told, attended: ſome, from motives of curioſity; ſome, as obſervers of the reſt; and ſome, to lend an helping hand to the buſineſs in agitation.

To the few reverend gentlemen (for, it ſeems, they were much the minority), who heartily fell in with the purpoſe of this extraordinary meeting, I beg leave to ſubmit the following hints:

I. Is not every king of England, for the time being, the ſupreme viſible head of our national Church?

II. Should not, therefore, theſe eccleſiaſtical male-contents have began at the right end, by firſt petitioning his majeſty for leave to aſſemble on an occaſion,

occaſion, and to deliberate on a queſtion, wherein not only the forms, but the very eſſence alſo, of our religious conſtitution, are ſo deeply and directly concerned? The king, I am aware, cannot, himſelf, introduce a bill into the houſe of commons. But, ſurely, the king's permiſſion was, in law and regularity, abſolutely requiſite, prior to ſuch a public meeting, called for ſuch a purpoſe. And both the calling and the holding of ſuch a meeting, for ſuch a purpoſe, was neither more nor leſs than an open inſult offered to the ſupreme viſible head of the Church of England.

But we will ſuppoſe the male-contents not to have thus ſtumbled at the threſhold, by aſſembling on ſuch buſineſs, without the king's licence firſt had and obtained. We will imagine them to have done no more than appoint a committee to draw up a petition of leave to the throne. Even that ſtep muſt have proceeded on this horrid and unſurmiſeable implication, that, to gratify an exceeding ſmall handful of clergymen, the king would forfeit his own royal word, and even violate his ſtill more ſacred oath. For,

III. Has not the king, ſolemnly and publicly, declared, again and again, that he will inviolably preſerve our preſent ſettlement in Church and State? Nay, was not this a very material part of the coronation oath? Can we, then, think, that his majeſty will ever conſent to unſettle and new-model that Church which he has both promiſed and ſworn to maintain and defend? Impoſſible. I dare believe, the king would ſooner fling his crown into the ſea.

Amidſt all the political defects, with which the Revolution was attended, conſiderable care was, nevertheleſs, taken of the Church. Witneſs that part of the ſtatute, 1 Will. c. 6. whereby it was "enacted, that the following oath ſhall be adminiſtered to every king or queen, who ſhall ſucceed to the imperial crown of this realm, at their reſpective

tive coronations:" the form of which oath, ſo far as relates to the matter in hand, ran thus:

"Archbiſhop, or biſhop. Will you, to the utmoſt of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profeſſion of the goſpel, and Proteſtant reformed religion eſtabliſhed by law?

"The king, or queen, ſhall anſwer: All this I promiſe to do. After this, laying his, or her hand upon the holy goſpels, he, or ſhe, ſhall ſay, the things, which I have here before promiſed, I will perform and keep; ſo help me God: and ſhall then kiſs the book."

But even this ſecurity was not deemed ſufficient. A flaw, tantamount to a trap-door, was ſtill ſuppoſed to remain. The Church of England might, poſſibly, in after times, be ſo re-modelled, by the joint authority of the three eſtates, as to be no longer the ſame identical Church it was before: and yet, by being re-modelled, on the authority aforeſaid, might ſtill be, literally, the religion eſtabliſhed by law.

This trap-door required effectual ſtopping up. And effectually ſtopped up it was, by the act which united England and Scotland into one kingdom, 5 Ann. c. 8. which celebrated ſtatute enacts, that, "After the demiſe of her majeſty queen Anne, the ſovereign next ſucceeding, and ſo for ever afterwards, every king or queen ſucceeding and coming to the royal government of the kingdom of Great-Britain, at his or her coronation, ſhall, in the preſence of all perſons who ſhall be attending, aſſiſting, or otherwiſe then and there preſent, take and ſubſcribe an oath to maintain and preſerve inviolably the ſettlement of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government thereof, as by law eſtabliſhed within the kingdoms of England and Ireland, the dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, and the territories thereunto belonging."

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To a prince, who has both taken and ſet his hand to ſuch an oath as this, no petition, for leave to innovate on the Church, could, with any ſhew of decency, be preſented. And yet, without ſuch leave, the intentional innovaters had no ſhadow of right to aſſemble for the purpoſe they did. Either way, they are hemmed in with unſurmountable embarraſſment. What, then, remains for them to do? Simply, this alternative: either to reſt contented with the Church, as ſhe now ſtands; or, fairly to quit her, and, like honeſt men, avail themſelves of the toleration.

IV. Theſe very gentlemen, who are ſo extremely ſanguine for an alteration, and who ſo liberally exclaim againſt being held down to creeds and articles; theſe very gentlemen, I am perſuaded, would, without any ſcruple at all, ſubſcribe to Arian Creeds and Arminian Articles, if the former were three dozen, and the latter thirty-nine hundred. It is not ſubſcription itſelf, which ſo much conſtitutes the grievance complained of; but the ſtubborn orthodoxy of the things ſubſcribed. Caſtrate the liturgy, articles, and homilies, of their Calviniſm and Trinitarianiſm, and, I will anſwer for it, ſubſcription will no longer be conſidered as "a yoke of bondage, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear."—But,

V. Why is ſubſcription, even on its preſent footing, ſo tragically decried as "a yoke?" Suppoſing it to be ever ſo galling in itſelf, it certainly need never have galled the reverend ſhoulders of thoſe divines who groan under it. Did any body compel theſe labourers into the eſtabliſhed vineyard? No; but the grapes were ſo inviting, that the hedge of ſubſcription, with all its ſuppoſed pricklineſs, was deliberately ſtruggled through, notwithſtanding conſcience was ſure to get a few ſcratches (not to ſay, lacerations) in the paſſage.

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Was there no act of toleration; were perſons, who diſſent from the eſtabliſhment, liable to poſitive penalties for that diſſent; were all means of ſubſiſtence cut off from Arminian and Anti-Trinitarian preachers; much might be offered, in mitigation of conformity without conviction. This would furniſh ample matter of ſolid complaint. Subſcription, in that caſe, would indeed be a badge of ſlavery and a yoke of oppreſſion: even of ſuch oppreſſion, as would make humanity weep; and of ſuch ſlavery, as would make Proteſtantiſm tremble to her centre.—But, bleſſed be God, theſe happy nations know nothing, at preſent, of this black, bigotted, unproteſtant intolerancy. Such as cannot, freely and conſcientiouſly, ſubſcribe to our eccleſiaſtical forms, are at full and juſt liberty to exerciſe their miniſtry among what denomination they chuſe. A circumſtance, which, however, ſerves to render thoſe perſons quite inexcuſable, who, for the ſake of a larger dividend of the loaves and fiſhes, ſolemnly ſubſcribe, and as ſolemnly teſtify their uncompelled aſſent, to certain ſtandards, which, at the very time, they diſbelieve, oppoſe, and would gladly overthrow: men, who (to borrow the phraſeology of a late celebrated Doctor), though "never trained," either by grace or ſincere inclination, "to pace in the trammels of the Church;" are yet ſo far "tempted by the ſweets of her preferments," as to ſacrifice conſcience to profit, principle to ambition, and integrity to promotion.

VI. Does the projected plan, for a repeal of ſubſcriptions, come with a good grace from ſome of thoſe very eccleſiaſtics, who have, themſelves, actually ſubmitted to this imaginary grievance, and who hold all their preferments by virtue of that ſelf-ſame ſubmiſſion? What can the world think of ſuch divines? It muſt think this: that there are certain clergymen, whom no ties, however ſacred, can bind; who make Scripture, conſcience, church, and all things elſe, bend to ſecular intereſt: men, who

who can ſwallow ſubſcriptions, promiſes, and declarations of aſſent, without aſſenting to what they declare, without intending what they promiſe, and without believing what they ſubſcribe: who having (many of them, at leaſt) taken care, in the firſt place, to get ſnugly beneficed; are, by a ſhameleſs ſtroke of after-policy, ſeeking to demoliſh the gate by which they entered, and to kick away the ladder by which they aſcended: who, in ſhort, while they eat the bread of the Church, are lifting up their heel againſt her; and, like the ungrateful boy in the fable, think to enjoy more of the golden eggs, by killing the fowl that lays them.

"Poſſibly, however, theſe non-aſſenting clergymen might have ſubſcribed, heedleſsly, and ignorantly, in their youth; without duly conſidering what they did. Would you have ſuch diſſemble their diſſatisfaction, after they perceive their error?" By no means. Let them avow their diſſatisfaction; but let them alſo act accordingly. Let them retract their ſubſcriptions, not by word and in tongue only, but in deed and in truth, by renouncing the preferments as well as the doctrines of the Church; and all the world will call them honeſt men. While I was over in Ireland, I was informed, that the late biſhop of Cl——r had been adviſed, by ſeveral of his friends, to give this concluſive proof of his integrity. But, dear as Arianiſm was to his lordſhip, a mitre was dearer*: and he

* I muſt, however, do juſtice to the memory of that celebrated prelate, by publiſhing the following anecdote, which I had from unqueſtionable authority, and to which I cannot help yielding the moſt implicit credit. As his lordſhip was poſſeſſed of a very ample fortune, excluſive of his high preferment in the Church, he found himſelf able to appropriate the whole revenues of his ſee (amounting to near 3000l. per annum,) to the purpoſes of charity; and, I have been aſſured, that, upon inſpection of his books after his deceaſe, it appeared, that the entire profits of his biſhopric had, for many years, been ſo devoted.

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choſe rather to* break his heart in lawn ſleeves, than, by reſigning them, to demonſtrate that he acted on principles purely conſcientious.

With regard to thoſe of our own inferior clergy, who are embarked in the preſent expedition againſt the Church, their deſign is, evidently, to burn the title-deed, and yet keep poſſeſſion of the eſtate: to ſhake off ſubſcription, without ſhaking off its lucrative appendages. Not conſidering, that, if the requiring of ſubſcription be an unlawful impoſition, the advantages, reſulting from a ſubmiſſion to it, muſt have been unlawfully obtained: and what a perſon has obtained unlawfully, muſt, when he comes to a better mind, be ſurrendered and renounced, if he mean to act as a man of principle. Either, therefore, thoſe clergymen, who repent of ſubſcribing, are not ſo deeply wounded in conſcience, as they profeſs; or, wounds of conſcience are, in their eſtimation, lighter than duſt on the ſcale, when weighed againſt worldly eaſe, profit, and advancement.

VII. Had not, and has not, the Church of England as much right, as any other ſociety, to judge for herſelf what doctrines are ſcriptural, and to eſtabliſh them accordingly? I do not mean to inſinuate, that our own Church, or any church whatever, has the leaſt right to obtrude her own judgement on ſuch individuals as cannot ſee with her eyes. And I will venture to be quite poſitive, that the preſent governors of the Church are perfectly remote from the leaſt deſire to tarniſh the glory of her moderation, by wiſhing to bring back the perſecuting days of Charles I. and Charles II. But may not the Church, without the leaſt ſhadow of perſecution, continue to fix the terms, on which ſhe will admit

* Occaſioned by the apprehenſions of a gathering ſtorm, which thickened every day, and bade fair for ſpeedily ending in a deprivation, by the joint authority of Church and State.

perſons to take the charge of her flock, and to miniſter at her altars? Muſt ſhe, in order to prove her Catholiciſm, throw down her fence, and reduce herſelf, from a garden, to a common, that all beaſts of the field may riot on her ſpoils, and every wild aſs quench his thirſt at her fountain?——For,

VIII. What would be the conſequence, if ſubſcription was totally ſet aſide, and if clergymen were not reſtrained to the uſe of the liturgy? The conſequence would be this: Papiſts, on one hand, and the dregs of the Diſſenters, on the other, would pour in upon us as a flood, and over-run the Church, as the Goths and Vandals firſt over-ran, and then deſtroyed, the Weſtern empire.

Let the reader obſerve, I ſay not "the Diſſenters;" but, "the dregs of the Diſſenters:" ſuch as Deiſtical, Arian, Socinian, Pelagian Diſſenters. Nor can the Diſſenters, as a body, be diſpleaſed at my uſing ſuch a term. Every ſociety has its dregs.—God knows, the eſtabliſhed Church is not without them. Our Proteſtant Diſſenters, conſidered in the aggregate, are moſt juſtly entitled to reſpect and Chriſtian affection. I ſpeak, therefore, above, only of ſuch individuals, as come within the compaſs there ſpecified. Nor do I preſume to judge even thoſe. I am perſonally acquainted with many Deiſts, Arians, Socinians, and Pelagians; whom, as men of parts, and as worthy members of ſociety, I honour and eſteem; yet I ſhould be very ſorry to ſee any of them trail in gowns and caſſocks, and diſſeminate their doctrinal tares from the pulpits of our pariſh churches. I may have a ſincere and very great regard for a neighbour, without wiſhing him to marry into my family.

While our preſent out-works are ſuffered to ſtand, we have this grand conſolation left; viz. that Arians, Socinians, Pelagians, &c. cannot, with any colour of decency, pretend that their miſtaken opinions have the ſanction of law and eſtabliſhment. Let

who

who will be for them, the Church is not.—*Medicus, qui omnia fecit ut ſanaret, partes ſuas peregit.* The wiſe and pious vigilance of our Proteſtant anceſtors has guarded the purity of the Church, by every religious, and almoſt every civil precaution, which human care and foreſight could deviſe. If, notwithſtanding all theſe prudent precautions, any are found, who creep into the eſtabliſhed miniſtry, bringing in with them deſtructive hereſies, the Church and conſtitution are not to blame, but the intruders themſelves: whoſe conduct proves, that the moſt ſolemn teſts and engagements have, with theſe theological Samſons, no more efficacy, than a thread of tow, which is broken when it toucheth the fire*.

" What uſe of oaths, of promiſe, or of teſt,
" Where men regard no God but intereſt†?"

Mille adde catenas,
Effugiet tamen hæc ſceleratus vincula Proteus.

But ſhall we totally demoliſh and ſet aſide ſubſcription, only becauſe it is not found, in every reſpect, fully to anſwer its original deſign? The very ſame argument would hold, for a repeal of the penal laws againſt Popery. Shall a man unhang his doors, take down his window-ſhutters, and leave his houſe open all night, for this ſage reaſon, becauſe doors and window-ſhutters are ſometimes found an ineffectual barrier againſt houſe-breakers?

IX. After all, more, than a bare ſuperſeding of ſubſcription, is, palpably, the drift of the preſent enterprize. Not only ſubſcription to the Articles and Homilies, but to the Liturgy alſo, is claſſed under the predicament of " grievous oppreſſion."—Now, the perſons, who flinch at ſubſcribing and

* Judges xvi. 9. † Waller.

declaring their aſſent to the Book of Common Prayer, would moſt certainly (if ſubſcription and aſſent were diſpenſed with) ſcruple to uſe that book: for, if they would not heſitate to uſe it, why ſhould they ſcruple to ſubſcribe it?

The matter, then, is plainly this: thoſe Arians, Arminians, &c. who have hitherto ſtayed out of our eccleſiaſtical pale, would gladly get within it: and the few Arians, and many Arminians, who are within it, wiſh to have the Church arianized and arminianized, as well for their own private convenience, as for the more eaſy admittance of their brethren who are hankering at the gate. For the accommodation of thoſe who have ſtruggled in, and in complaiſance to thoſe who yet tarry out, the whole eccleſiaſtical edifice, founded on the rock of Scripture, and cemented with the blood of our martyrs, is, forſooth, to be taken down, and not one doctrinal ſtone left upon another. In particular, the doctrine of the Trinity, and that of gratuitous predeſtination (the two maſter pillars of the ſacred ſtructure), muſt be removed from the premiſes, and thrown, like degraded idols, to the moles and to the batts; elſe, it ſeems, we cannot ſhew a due degree of brotherly attention to the tender conſciences of thoſe good Chriſtians, who wiſh to erect free-will, merit, chance, and unitarianiſm, upon the ruins of that Church, which once ſhone (and, were all her profeſſing ſons true to her principles, would continue to ſhine) the glory of the reformation, and the excellency of the whole earth.

X. Would it be for the credit of the Proteſtant religion, in general, and of the Church of England, in particular, to be perpetually ſhifting and tacking about, never continuing in one ſtay, but (to uſe the expreſſion of a certain Arminian) always flitting and "toſſing from ſyſtem to ſyſtem?" Our Articles have already paſſed one reviſal, ſince their firſt publication in 1552. Our Liturgy has been reviewed

no

no fewer than four times. Muſt we be inceſſantly doing and undoing? Is the Church of England, like Penelope's web, to experience a regular viciſſitude of weaving and unraveling? or muſt ſhe, like the image at Loretto, never appear, two days together, in the ſame dreſs? Are we ever learning, yet never able to come to the knowledge of the truth? Is religion ſo far the daughter of time, as to be ſuſceptible of daily improvement, like the handy-craft arts? To anſwer theſe queſtions in the affirmative, would be to expoſe religion itſelf to the ſcorn and laughter of every rational being. And yet, unleſs theſe queſtions are to be anſwered affirmatively, whither do our projected alterations tend?

XI. Suppoſing, for argument's ſake, that many things, in the Church of England, might be altered even greatly for the better; the preſent is certainly a very unfit time for ſuch an enterprize. What if a ſet of writers, who have little or no turn for mathematics, ſhould undertake to reviſe and correct the philoſophical works of Sir Iſaac Newton? Now, every man muſt admit, that a concern for religion is by no means a characteriſtic of the preſent age. Conſequently, had the Church, in reality, any tares to be rooted up, the wheat would run at leaſt a very dangerous riſque of being torn up alſo. The ſafeſt way, therefore, would be, to let both grow together until harveſt.

"What! would you oppoſe all reformation?" I am only for oppoſing the meaſures of thoſe (at beſt, miſtaken; perhaps, deſigning) brethren, who are evidently for reforming us out of the reformation.

"Have you no regard to the eaſe of ſcrupulous conſciences?" I have the tendereſt regard to it. But the queſtion has two edges. It concludes as much, at leaſt, for my argument, as againſt it. For, is ſcrupulouſneſs of conſcience peculiar to Arians, Socinians, and Pelagians? Have not the orthodox

their ſcruples alſo? And muſt no proviſion be made for the ſcruples of the elder branch? Muſt the younger (i. e. Proteſtants of the modern caſt) run away with all the attention of legiſlature?—Beſides; thoſe of our reformed brethren, who are reſtrained from falling in with the Church, by ſcruples truly conſcientious, are under no ſort of obligation to put a force upon conſcience, by ſmothering their ſcruples. They are at unreſtrained liberty to indulge any ſcruples that can ariſe, and to follow conſcience whither-ſoever ſhe goes. If, therefore, conſcience is all, conſcience has no reaſon to complain. She may, in theſe happy nations, purſue her own dictates, without impediment; and chuſe her own faith and worſhip, both as to mode and ſubſtance.

XII. Let us, for a moment, ſuppoſe the ſuperſeding ſcheme to have taken full effect. We will imagine the Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies, to be actually ſhorn of their orthodoxy; and ſubſcription to be totally reſcinded. Old things are done away; behold, all things are become new. Still there will be plenty of malecontents. We ſhall be as far, or farther, from unity, than ever. It is impoſſible, in the very nature of things, for any Church upon earth to be ſo conſtituted, as to ſatisfy every body. All the difference would be, that many Churchmen, and many Diſſenters, would change places. Many Diſſenters would commence Churchmen; and every true Churchman would and muſt commence Diſſenter. All would be turned upſide down, and a total reverſe of things enſue. Papiſts, Arians, Socinians, Infidels, and ſuch like, would be the only gainers by the exchange. Theſe would laugh to ſee themſelves at the top of the wheel: and the eſtabliſhed Church, from that fatal moment, degenerate into the common-ſewer of every hereſy under Heaven.

XIII. The political conſequences of ſuch a religious revolution are likewiſe to be pre-conſidered. We,

We, already, as a nation, too much reſemble an houſe divided againſt itſelf. How exceedingly indiſcreet, therefore (to call it by no harſher name,) is the ill-timed zeal of ſuch clergymen, who labour to ſtir the fire with a ſword, by ſeeking to add the fury of religious diſcord to the rage of civil diſſention? Who can foretel, or even foreſee, the deſtructive effects, which might follow from the coalition of this double flame? Let us remember, how dear the hot, innovating ſpirit of the firſt Arminians had like to have coſt their country. The States of Holland were puſhed to the very brink of total ruin, by the raſhneſs of that obſtinate faction, who could not find in their hearts to let religion ſtand as the reformation had left it.

XIV. In vain would ſubſcription to our eſtabliſhed forms and formularies be ſet aſide, unleſs the projectors could procure the Bible alſo to be cried down by public authority. The buſineſs will be but half done, while the Scripture is permitted to ſtare thoſe refining gentlemen in the face. They ſhould, therefore, to be conſiſtent, move for the utter abrogation of that. For (according to their idea of intellectual liberty), it muſt be a moſt grievous encroachment on the right of private judgment, that candidates for the Chriſtian miniſtry ſhould be obliged to teſtify their belief of that old faſhioned book. Since, it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that they, who deem it a badge of oppreſſion to ſubſcribe a ſet of doctrinal articles deduced from the Scriptures, ſhould with perfect complacency be ready to ſubſcribe the Scriptures themſelves, from whence thoſe very articles are deduced. This would indeed be ſtraining at a gnat, and ſwallowing a camel.

Inſtead, then, of beating about the buſh, by a petition againſt the liturgy and articles, let the reverend petitioners ſpring the grand quarry at once. Let them, honeſtly, and without mincing the point, lay the axe to the root, by addreſſing parliament

againſt the πρωτον ψευδος, from whence the liturgy and articles were derived. What avails it, to exhauſt your indignation on the rivulets? Act as men of ſpirit, and roundly attack the fountain. You will never be able to give the *coup de grace* to the Church of England, while you ſuffer the prophets, evangeliſts, and apoſtles, to ſtand full in your way. Treat them, therefore, O ye reputed ſucceſſors of thoſe apoſtles, as Nero wiſhed to treat the Roman citizens: piouſly endeavour to cut off both Bible and Church at a blow.

A paragraph or two, to the following purport, would ſerve to adorn your intended petition:

And whereas there is a certain obſolete work, made up of divers treatiſes, collected into a thick volume, which volume was, by the ignorance and ſuperſtition of our block-headed forefathers, looked upon as ſacred, and as written under the influence of Divine Inſpiration: We, your petitioners, being happily emancipated from the ſhackles of prejudice, and having dilated into true liberality of ſentiment, do give it as our opinion, that the obtruding of the ſaid book upon the free-born minds of men, is a moſt grievous hardſhip and unſufferable impoſition. For, we can eaſily prove, that the book aforeſaid is ſtuffed with a detail of many improbable, not to ſay impoſſible, facts; and, moreover, fraught, throughout, with a great number of doctrines, equally repugnant to reaſon, and dangerous to morality: ſuch as, that three are one, and one is three (which we can mathematically demonſtrate to be impoſſible); not to mention the wicked doctrines of election, juſtification, atonement, imputed righteouſneſs, original ſin, efficacious grace, regeneration, the indwelling of the ſpirit, final perſeverance, &c. &c. All which are irrational in themſelves, and of very licentious tendency: not to add, that they are quite obſolete and worn out with age; and, therefore, it is high time that both they,

they, and the book which inculcates them, were dead, buried, and forgot.

Your petitioners do alſo beſeech the wiſdom of this nation, in parliament united, to relieve us reverend divines from another very irkſome grievance, which renders our uſeful lives not a little miſerable. We mean, the ſuperſtitious obſervance of what is commonly called the Lord's Day. On this day, thoſe of us who ſubſiſt by the Church, and who cannot afford to keep curates, are forced to undergo the intolerable drudgery of reading public prayers, and of preaching eight, ten, and ſometimes fifteen minutes; both which burthens are very oppreſſive and unreaſonable: ſeeing the Sabbath was intended for a day, not of labour, but of reſt: which reſt cannot, in equitable conſtruction, be deemed general, unleſs it extend to clergy as well as laity.

And whereas there is a vexatious and unreaſonable canon *, whereby we are enjoined not to appear in public without caſſocks, nor to wear any light coloured ſtockings: We, your aggrieved petitioners, not being content with breaking the ſaid canon, do pray and deſire that it may be totally and finally repealed; and that a law may paſs, entitling us to dreſs like other men. Not as if we thought that our profeſſion has any reaſon to be aſhamed of us; but we, being aſhamed of our profeſſion, do teſtify our earneſt wiſh of being permitted to wear laced hats, ruffled ſhirts, and all other ornaments pertaining to men of this world: and that none, but diſſenting teachers, may be obliged to go in conſtant mourning: We alſo humbly ſubmit it to the conſideration of legiſlature, whether it might not be fitting, to confer the following mark of honourable diſtinction on us, the eccleſiaſtical ſons of liberty, who aſſembled, for the above and other equally laudable purpoſes, at the Feather's Tavern:

* Canon 74.

viz. that we, who make this noble effort in favour of religious freedom, may be entitled to wear a white feather in our hats, in lieu of a rope and roſe, to the intent, that every Deiſt, Papiſt, Arian, Socinian, and Pelagian, who meets us in the ſtreets, may know us, bow to us, and give us the wall, accordingly.

In acceding to the ſupplication now preſented, and in retrieving us from the egregious grievance of ſubſcription in time to come (though even that will be no abſolution of us from the guilt of having already ſubſcribed to the wicked Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies in time paſt), ye will confer a ſignal favour on us your petitioners, who, as in duty bound, will ever, &c.

To ſpeak ſeriouſly, I really think theſe gentlemen are moſt juſtly entitled to ſome trophy of diſtinction. If, as the public have lately ſeen, a Glouceſterſhire * painter brought in his bill for altering the Belief in a pariſh chancel; much more may the reverend brethren, of the Feathers aſſociation, bring in theirs, for the ſuperlative merit of attempting the overthrow of Creeds, Articles, Liturgy, Homilies, Church, and all. And what is the true reaſon of this prodigious wrath againſt our Liturgy, Homilies, Articles, and Creeds? The true reaſon is apparently this: thoſe excellent forms of ſound words have given Arianiſm and Arminianiſm a blow under the fifth rib; of which, Arianiſm and Arminianiſm will never be healed, until thoſe forms are annihilated.

* The London and Weſtern Papers, for Auguſt, 1771, had the enſuing article; which, however it may carry the appearance of humour, was affirmed to be literally true: "The following is a true copy of a painter's bill, at Cirencester, in Glouceſterſhire, delivered to the churchwardens of an adjoining pariſh:

"Mr. Charles Fenebee, churchwarden of Siddington, to Joſeph Cook, debtor.

"To mending the Commandments,
"Altering the Belief, and
"Making a new Lord's Prayer. } 1 1 0

I have,

I have, with all the humility which becomes ſo obſcure an individual, but, at the ſame time, with a degree of that freedom, which the nature and importance of the ſubject demand, ventured to lay before the public, what occurred to me on the point in queſtion. May I, without the appearance of preſumption, be permitted to add, that convinced as I am of the utility and neceſſity of eccleſiaſtical ſubſcription, I am no leſs ſtrongly convinced, that the requiſition of ſubſcription is, at preſent, extended too far? It muſt be acknowledged, that religious liberty is not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, ſo completely eſtabliſhed among us, as Chriſtian benevolence requires, and the rights of mankind demand. Remote as I am, and hope ever to be, from Arianiſm and Socinianiſm, I yet moſt ſincerely wiſh that neither Arians nor Socinians might, as ſuch, lie, in any reſpect, at the mercy of their fellow creatures. I ſhould rejoice, unfeignedly, to ſee the act of toleration no longer clogged with the following reſtrictive clauſe: "Provided that nothing in this act ſhall be conſtrued to extend to give any eaſe, benefit, or advantage———to any perſon that ſhall deny in his preaching, or writing, the doctrine of the Bleſſed Trinity as it is declared in the aforeſaid articles" [i. e. in the xxxix Articles] "of religion."

The toleration of Proteſtants ſhould, by every law both of God and nature, and of civil policy, be abſolutely unlimited. It is as much their due, as the air they breathe, or as the light by which they ſee. They are not to aſk it, as a favour; but may claim it, as a debt. Keep Antitrinitarians out of the Church, by all means: but let them enjoy every advantage of civil ſociety; together with the free exerciſe of their religion, only *extra eccleſiam*, not within the eſtabliſhment.

It is equally injurious to the right of private judgment, to exact ſubſcription, to the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, from thoſe very

perſons,

perſons, who declare themſelves diſſenters from that Church. No diſſenting miniſter is legally entitled to the benefit of the Act of Toleration, until he has, at the general, or quarter ſeſſion of the peace, declared his approbation of, and likewiſe ſubſcribed to, all the Thirty-nine Articles, except the 34th, 35th, 36th, and the firſt clauſe of the 20th. This is, to very many diſſenting Proteſtants, a real grievance, and calls for legal redreſs. God forbid, that the Church ſhould ever accommodate her doctrines to the religious miſtakes of thoſe who differ from her: but, ſurely, the ſtate ought to be the common guardian of every well behaving Proteſtant, without excepting one. A man may be a good ſubject, and a valuable member of the community, without coming up to the orthodoxy of the 39 Articles. A toleration, truly Proteſtant, requires a more generous and expanded baſis.

Here, then, I moſt heartily join hands with the adverſaries of ſubſcription. As far as the Proteſtant diſſenters are concerned, I ſhould, as a well-wiſher to mankind, rejoice to ſee ſubſcription, I will not ſay, relaxed, but entirely taken out of the way. I mean, ſubſcription to all the Thirty-nine Articles, thoſe only excepted, which are directly pointed againſt the Church of Rome: and to them, I dare believe, every Proteſtant diſſenter, in the king's dominions, would chearfully ſet his hand.

The toleration is not compleat, until matters are put on this footing. A ſword ſtill hangs, by a thread, over the heads of reputed heretics; which is liable, at any time, to fall and do miſchief. Surely, bare connivance is too ſlender a ſecurity for the property and freedom of any Proteſtant whatever!

May I, likewiſe, be allowed juſt to hint at another real grievance, equally oppreſſive and abſurd? I mean, the exaction of ſubſcription to the Thirty-nine Articles from thoſe of the laity, who take the acade-

academical degrees in law, or phyſic. Nay, I have been informed (but I will not venture to affirm), that ſubſcription is required even of thoſe who proceed doctors in muſic. If ſo, can any thing be more unreaſonable? As if men could not be able lawyers, phyſicians, or muſicians, without being * orthodox!

But this affects not the clergy. It is abſolutely neceſſary, for the honour of Chriſtianity, and for

* The late learned and truly reſpectable Dr. Daniel W—t—l—d gave a very remarkable proof, how forcibly this kind of prejudice and bigotry are ſometimes ſeen to operate even on, otherwiſe, exalted minds. The main circumſtance, on which the whole ſpirit of the following fact turns, may, to ſome readers, appear rather indelicate. However, as Dr. Middleton did not diſdain to write it; and as biſhop Warburton did not ſcruple to let it be publiſhed (for, I ſuppoſe, the copy of the letter was communicated, by his lordſhip, to the editors of Dr. Middleton's Works); I need not apologize for reciting it. "In his" (i. e. Dr. W's) "laſt journey from Cambridge to London, being attended by Dr. P———e, and C———n the ſurgeon, he lodged the ſecond night at Hodſden; where being obſerved to be coſtive on the road, he was adviſed to have a clyſter: to which he conſented. The apothecary was preſently ſent for: to whom Dr. P———e gave his orders below ſtairs, while Dr. W. continued above: upon which, the apothecary could not forbear expreſſing his great ſenſe of the honour which he received, in being called to the aſſiſtance of ſo celebrated a perſon, whoſe writings he was well acquainted with. The company ſignified ſome ſurprize, to find a country apothecary ſo learned. But he aſſured them, that he was no ſtranger to the merit and character of the doctor, but had lately read his ingenious book, with much pleaſure, (entitled) The Divine Legation of Moſes.—Dr. P———e, and a Fellow of Magdalen there preſent, took pains to convince the apothecary of his miſtake: while C———n the ſurgeon ran up ſtairs with an account of his blunder to W. who, provoked by it into a violent paſſion, called the poor fellow a puppy and blockhead, who muſt needs be ignorant in his profeſſion, and unfit to adminiſter any thing to him, and might poſſibly poiſon his bowels: and, notwithſtanding Dr. P———e's endeavours to moderate his diſpleaſure, by repreſenting the expediency of the operation, and the man's capacity to perform it; he would hear nothing in his favour, but ordered him to be diſcharged, and poſtponed the benefit of the clyſter until he reached his next ſtage." Middleton's Works, vol. ii. p. 484, 485. Quarto.

As if the apothecary was neceſſarily incapable of adminiſtering a clyſter, only becauſe he admired The Divine Legation of Moſes!

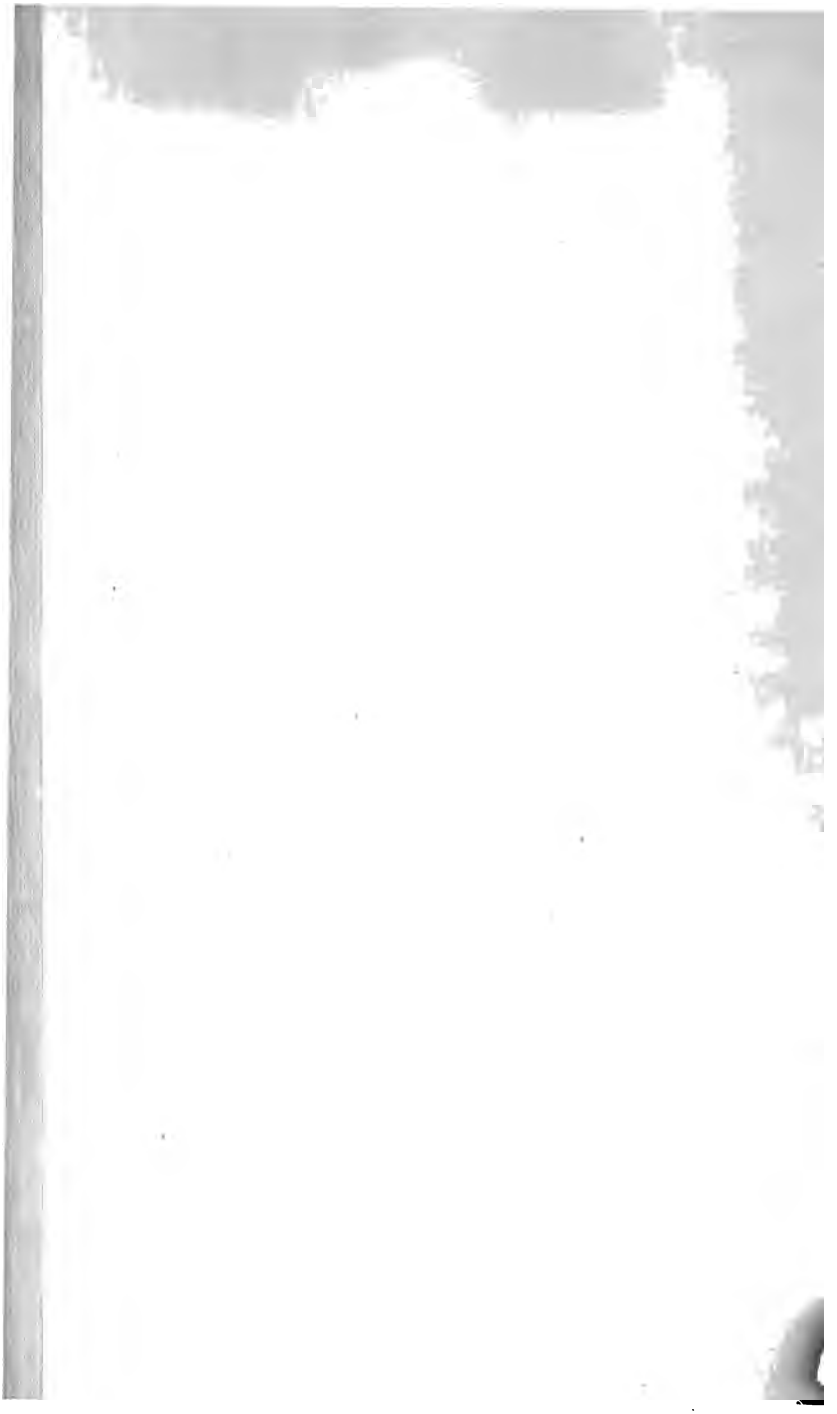
thus

the good of ſouls, that they ſhould be found in the faith, and give ſufficient ſecurity for their being ſo. Experience proves, that ſome of us are not a little centrifugal. Great care, therefore, ſhould be taken, to retain us within the orbit of orthodoxy. There have been inſtances more than a few, of eccentric divines, who have, indeed, gravitated, very ſtrongly, towards the emoluments of the Church: but who were, nevertheleſs, exceeding prone to recede from her doctrines. The repelling force of the Thirty-nine Articles themſelves proved inſufficient to reſtrain thoſe ſtars-eccleſiaſtical from availing themſelves of the emoluments: nor was all the attractive power of the emoluments able to procure any quarter for the doctrines. Predeſtination (for inſtance) has been dehorted from, as poiſon; while the preferments, appending to the ſuppoſed belief of it, were enjoyed as nectar.

What does this prove? thus much: that, through the depravation and frailty of human nature, the ſolemn three-fold band of ſubſcription, aſſent, and approbation, does not (as already obſerved) perfectly anſwer the end of its intention. It does not, ſo univerſally as might be wiſhed, preclude all diverſities of opinions from the Church, nor eſtabliſh abſolute unity of conſent touching true religion. What then? muſt it (to repeat the important queſtion) be therefore totally aboliſhed? Nay: but, if any proper expedients can be farther deviſed for that purpoſe, let it rather be ſtrengthened. We will ſuppoſe, an huſband breaks through his marriage-articles. Would not the injured party be inſane, to imagine, that her deſtroying thoſe articles, by committing them to the flames, would add to her ſecurity?

If unſound doctrines make ſhift to creep, now and then, into the Church, notwithſtanding the hedge of ſubſcription, by which ſhe is guarded; what would become

become of her, if ſhe diſmiſſed her guard, and the hedge was totally removed? On the whole, I take leave of the ſubject, with the ſame ardent wiſh for the Church of England, which a celebrated hiſtorian expreſſed for the State of Venice: *Eſto perpetua!*

BROAD HEMBURY,
Sept. 27, 1771.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.